BLAMELESS AEGISTHUS

A STUDY OF ΑΜΥΜΩΝ AND OTHER HOMERIC EPITHETS

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ANNE AMORY PARRY †

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LUGDUNI BATAVORUM E. J. BRILL MCMLXXIII

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BY

ANNE AMORY PARRY†

LUGDUNI BATAVORUM E. J. BRILL MCMLXXIII

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"What is most needed is a thorough and accurate knowledge of the poems, conjoined with the sort of common sense that would be used in the study of a modern author. This can be better attained by reading Homer and consulting the literature of criticism than by reading the literature of criticism and consulting Homer."

George M. Calhoun, Polity and Society, *p. 438*

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PREFACE

Anne Amory Parry and her husband, Adam Parry, were killed in a motor-cycle accident at Colmar, France, on June 6, 1971. At the time of her death her manuscript of "Blameless Aegisthus" had been accepted for publication by E. J. Brill, but she had not yet completed the revisions which she had intended to incorporate into the text. It has seemed better to let the manuscript stand as the author left it, rather than to attempt any revision based on the notes which she had left with the manuscript. Had the author lived to make her own revisions, her arguments at certain points might have gained something in persuasiveness, but I am confident that in no case would revisions have materially affected the line of her argument.

The sad task of editing a friend's posthumous work has been made lighter for me by the kind cooperation of others. I should like to thank the editorial staff of Brill's, and in particular Mr. T. A. Edridge for his care in guiding the manuscript into print. Special thanks, too, I owe to Mr. Neil Forsyth, who undertook to proofread the manuscript with truly professional exactitude. Multiple cross references and the large amount of Greek in the text made his a formidable task, and I could hardly venture to guess how long a delay there would have been in publication, had I not been able to rely on Mr. Forsyth's help. I am grateful to him for his painstaking attention to details of typography, and no less for his intelligent comprehension of the substance of the text. To Professor C. J. Ruijgh I would also express my gratitude. His communications with the author, which were with the manuscript at the time of her death, more than anything else gave me confidence that the manuscript merited publication as a genuine contribution to classical philology.

Professor G. S. Kirk has written a memorial tribute to the Parrys in *Gnomon* 43 (1972) 426-428. His gracious remarks encompass their lives and their professional contributions far more ably than anything I could say. On the occasion of this memorial volume, however, a personal note may not be amiss. The *Odyssey* has long been an important influence in my life, ever since, in fact, I began to read Odysseus' Apologos in my first Greek course. I am grateful to Anne Parry for the part she played, as a teacher in a graduate

seminar, in opening up vistas into the poem through her perceptions, and for the encouragement she gave as I tried to articulate may own perceptions of the poem. What I respected, and responded to, most in her, as also in Adam Parry, was their conviction that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were poems of the conflicts, pains and triumphs in the lives of persons such as Earth nurtured in millenia past, and nurtures still today.

Anne Parry in her scholarly work combined a passionate belief in Homeric artistry with a scrupulous adherence to philological proof. This monograph manifests these two qualities, aesthetic perception and philological documentation, so interwoven that each gains from the strength of the other. It is the scholarly texture of her monograph which prompts me to proceed with its publication. Rare it is to find a monograph treating a word in such exhaustive detail. Rarer still to find that scholarly enterprise serving, through the study of a single word, to vindicate the integrity of Homer's craft. It is my hope that *Blameless Aegisthus* will endure, both as a model of scholarly investigation, and as a rich source book for those whose interest is in Homeric language, formula and style.

Blameless Aegisthus is, in the language of the *Odyssey*, the σῆμα of Anne Parry's creation, and is thus the fitting σῆμα which her friends leave to mark the place where a teacher, colleague, and friend passed from this world to the other.

Los Angeles, Calif. 1973 NORMAN AUSTIN

INTRODUCTION

Most of the recent work done on Homeric vocabulary has concerned itself with words of philosophical import, words which illuminate for us early Greek conceptions of body, soul, mind, thought, choice, and so on. Bruno Snell and others have investigated such nouns, and the related verbs of seeing, knowing, etc., in order to understand the development of Greek thought. These studies tend to use Homer as a foil, as the primitive backdrop against which the sophistication of later Greek philosophical thinking may be better appreciated.[1]

Such work, valuable as it is, offers only limited benefits to those who wish to understand the Homeric poems as literature, for there remain many words among Homer's vast store which are imperfectly understood. Even if we leave aside the special problem of the notoriously obscure Homeric glosses, a number of obstacles can hinder our comprehension of Homer's poetry. For example, since most of us start from a vantage point of classical Greek, it is all too easy to read back into Homer connotations which words did not yet possess. Again, because in our own language, as well as in classical Greek, a single word may have a great and complicated network of connotations, we tend to assume, wrongly, that in Homer's language the same is true.[2] In addition, many feel that because Homer's morphology and syntax admit of so much more variation and irregularity than those of later Greek do, similar confusion prevailed in the meanings of his words.[3] Finally, the promulgation of Milman

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[1] Snell's first chapter in *Discovery*, "Homer's View of Man," is probably the best known and most influential work in Homeric semasiology; Onians also has some interesting remarks on words for soul, mind, etc. With the exception of standard works like those of Wackernagel and Leumann, researches on Homeric words are often tucked away in inaccessible German dissertations and periodicals; for bibliography of these see Mette, ***Lustrum***, pp. 18ff.

[2] In spite of Snell's emphatic warning, *Discovery*, p. 1, the dangers of investing a word in early literature with later meanings are insufficiently recognized by classical scholars, partly because of the pervasive bias in favor of late meanings throughout LSJ. C. S. Lewis well illustrates such dangers for English literature, but there is nothing comparably salutary for ancient literature.

[3] Stanford in *Metaphor* has some cogent remarks (pp. 110ff.) on the inadequacy of lexica as guides to the meanings of Greek words, but in *Ambiguity* he vigorously propounds the fallacy that "words lacked precise definitions in

Parry's theory that the Homeric poems were the products of oral composition has, while removing many misunderstandings of Homer's poetic technique, given added support to another source of misapprehension, namely the assumption that many words in Homer have no discernible meaning, that they are merely metrical fillers in standardized formulae.

All these assumptions inevitably damage our understanding of the Iliad and the Odyssey, the more dangerously because such assumptions are often unconscious, and consequently the damage that they do also goes unnoticed. One of them, the assumption that the oral poet must of necessity be indifferent to the meanings of many of the words he uses, might seem actually to invalidate much of the following study, and for that reason it needs fuller examination here. Milman Parry believed that the oral poet's choice of epithet was determined by metrical needs only, and that these needs made it impossible for him to choose his adjectives according to their significance.[1] It is indeed obvious to anyone who follows Parry's detailed arguments closely that the oral poet cannot have chosen his epithets to be particularly appropriate to the immediate context in the same way that a literate poet does. The epithets in Homer are, as Aristarchus said long ago, and as Parry reminded us, ornamental. Parry concluded that an epithet, once it had become fixed and traditional, was so fully ornamental that it lost its own meaning almost entirely and added to its noun only "un élément de noblesse et de grandeur, mais rien de plus." [2] Parry in the course of his argument also lays considerable stress on the instances where an epithet seems positively inappropriate, for the obvious reason that such instances support his conclusions about the meaninglessness of formulaic epithets.[3] He never considers the possibility that it is the meanings traditionally assigned to such epithets that make them seem inappropriate, but, as we shall see, this is very often the case.[4]

Homer's time" (p. 121), partly because he assumes, unjustifiably, that the "chaos" of "dialects, grammar, prosody and syntax" seen in Homer is accompanied by similar semasiological confusion (p. 133).

[1] Parry's arguments on this point are set forth most fully in "Le Sens Distinctif de l'Épithète dans l'Épos," Chap. IV of *L'Épithète*, pp. 146-217. See also "Epic Technique," pp. 123-125, and "Gloss," p. 241.

[2] *L'Épithète*, p. 158.

[3] *L'Épithète*, pp. 150-153, "Gloss," p. 246, *et al.*

[4] Some of the standard examples of Homer's nodding over the "inappropriate" epithets go back to Aristarchus, for the misunderstandings of

When Parry wrote it was naturally imperative to make the arguments for oral composition as strong as possible and to draw the distinctions between oral and written literature with the greatest possible clarity. Now that his fundamental point, that the language of Homer is the traditional diction of an oral poet, is widely accepted, even by those who may not believe that the Iliad and Odyssey as we have them were orally composed, one need not make the issues so black and white as Parry did. In general, Parry exaggerated the extent to which an individual bard was bound by his tradition; the unnecessary rigidity of some of Parry's conclusions was noted when his first two French monographs appeared,[1] and again recently modifications are being suggested.

For example, Parry stated that any one singer could only have created a few original expressions.[2] If one accepts this as true, it would have needed, as Hoekstra has pointed out, not just a few centuries, but "literally countless generations of bards to develop the diction up to its Homeric form." [3] Similarly, Parry's arguments on the purely ornamental character of most epithets, and on the lack of choice available to the poet lead to various absurdities if pressed to their logical extreme. Many noun and verb phrases in Homer are obviously just as formulaic as the noun-epithet combinations. Yet no one can seriously suggest that either noun or verb became so purely ornamental as to lose its own meaning. Nor can one claim that the poet was so constrained by the metrical exigencies of his verse that he had to make a character do or say something entirely inappropriate to the context.[4]

It remains true, just as Parry said, that Homeric epithets are not ordinarily chosen for their special relevance to the immediate context. Since the great majority of epithets is honorific, and since Homeric heroes ordinarily are lauded, and not disparaged, the epithets are roughly interchangeable and can be selected according to metrical needs. That is, since it usually makes little difference in any given passage whether a hero is, for instance, brave or strong, the bard chooses a noun-epithet formula of the right length, no

Homeric words are very ancient. Instances will occur *passim*; see e.g. on δαΐφρων, pp. 25-26.

[1] See e.g. Bassett's review of the two French monographs, pp. 641-644.

[2] "Epic Technique," p. 147.

[3] Hoekstra, pp. 15-6, and p. 16, n. 1.

[4] For some scattered but incisive criticisms of Parry on these points, see Rosenmeyer, "Formula," pp. 295ff.

matter which epithet it contains. But to recognize this is not necessarily to take the further step of insisting, as Parry did, that the poet is so indifferent to the meaning of his ornamental epithets and so constrained by metrical necessities that he uses certain formulae even when the epithets they contain are inappropriate. On the contrary, Homer's tradition was so rich, and his own skill so great, that it can plausibly be argued that in his songs even the ornamental epithets are appropriate to the character and subject which they adorn.[1] The kind of consonance is different from and less exact than that which exists in a written poem, but it is none the less clear and recognizable.

Parry was comparatively uninterested in the meanings of the formulae which he discussed, since he was primarily concerned with their function in the process of oral composition.[2] He assumes throughout that a given formulaic system expresses "the same essential idea." [3] In a superficial way this is true enough so that Parry's demonstrations of how the formulaic system worked are not invalidated. But Hoekstra has raised the question of whether all Parry's equivalents are true; is the "essential idea" of, for example, ἄλκιμος υἱός really the same as that of ἀγλαὸς υἱός? [4] I myself feel that they are not, and that not only were there distinctions of meaning between roughly equivalent formulae, but that the bard was more cognizant of these distinctions than Parry seems to admit. When one looks at Parry's tables of formulaic phrases, one is inevitably impressed with how cleverly the variations are designed to allow different grammatical constructions, how neatly they take up different lengths of the line, how ingeniously the phrases are paired to begin one with a vowel and one with a consonant, and so on.[5]

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[1] See Whallon, "Epithets," for illustrations of the thesis that "certain epithets have close connections with the epic matter, which make them inevitably pregnant with significance" (p. 101). He concludes that the formulaic system shows such variety and accuracy that "neither the metrical nor the literary function of epithets is a diriment impediment to the other" (p. 142).

[2] Even in "Gloss," which sounds as if it ought to be about meaning, since it is subtitled, "A Study in Word-sense," Parry makes no attempt to define Homeric words, but devotes himself to arguing that the presence of ornamental epithets whose meaning is obscure can be plausibly explained only by the hypothesis that Homer's style is oral and formulaic.

[3] See e.g. "Epic Technique," pp. 130-131.

[4] Hoekstra, p. 13.

[5] E.g. in *L'Épithète*, pp. 50-79 and "Epic Technique," pp. 130-131.

But as soon as one turns to the poems and looks up all the contexts for the phrases in one of these formulaic systems, one is equally impressed by how precise and subtle, and by how severely restricted in meaning, Homer's words usually are; even the commonest words and the most obviously formulaic phrases are significant and exactly definable. The exigencies of oral composition do indeed cause some distortion of meaning, just as they produced the metrical irregularities which Parry investigated;[1] but the distortions are themselves definable and the process by which they occur is clearly traceable. This assertion cannot be demonstrated here, because any convincing example involves examining a fairly large number of passages, but the succeeding discussion will provide evidence of its truth (see e.g. Chap. II, p. 33, n. 2).

Parry's work inaugurated a new era in Homeric studies, but although nearly thirty years have passed since the publication of his first book, much remains to be done. Parry showed how far Homer's language differed from that of poets who write, and a certain amount of work following in his steps has appeared.[2] But Parry had not the time and most of his successors have lacked the inclination to take up the task of analyzing the interplay between formula as a device for oral composition and formula as a vehicle for meaning.[3] Conversely, Snell and his followers have written almost entirely without regard for Parry's work. Both groups have made important contributions to Homeric studies, and it seems likely that a combination of the approaches characteristic of each would prove fruitful too.

The need for "further understanding of Homer's familiar words," not just of the "rare and archaic" ones with which most scholars have dealt, was pointed out by Aristarchus, who also recommended the proper method, namely "a careful observation of Homer's characteristic usage."[4] Homer's abundant vocabulary offers an *embarras de richesses*; I have chosen ἀμύμων, one of the

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[1] *Formules* is Parry's main work on this subject.

[2] Besides the various works of Lord and Notopoulos, there are recent articles by Hainsworth, Hoekstra's monograph, and in *YCS* XX two long articles by Kirk, and one by Russo.

[3] Welcome exceptions are two articles by Adam Parry, "The Language of Achilleus" and "Have We Homer's *Iliad*?" See especially the latter, pp.190-203.

[4] The quotations are from Atkins, I, p. 188.

commonest Homeric epithets, and one which is cited often by Parry and others because its accepted meaning, "blameless," is clearly inappropriate in a number of instances (see below, pp. 48, 63f., and 123).

To ascertain the meaning of ἀμύμων other adjectives have had to be investigated; these have been set forth in full in the footnotes and appendices. To establish the meanings of all these words I have looked at the contexts of all occurrences of each of them in both the Iliad and the Odyssey.[1] I have tried to set forth the evidence as fully as seemed necessary to demonstrate beyond doubt both the denotation and the connotations of the words in question, trying always to keep in mind the whole tenor and meaning of each poem when considering individual words and passages. On the whole, I have assumed that the original meaning of a word is commonly the one that is the easiest to ascertain: the simplest, the most concrete, and usually the most frequent. Extensions of meaning and developments of connotation are then fairly easy to trace as a rule, although there is here naturally more room for subjective feeling and conjecture, consequently for disagreement.

It may seem excessive to discuss apparently unimportant adjectives at such length and in such detail, but I think that the project is justifiable, both for its methods and its results. For this kind of examination to have any validity at all, it is necessary to review all the available evidence thoroughly. Some instances of any word in any language are usually debatable, and it is only fair to allow a reader to weigh for himself the debatable instances against a full discussion of the normal usage. The more customary procedure is to make a general and dogmatic statement about the ordinary meaning of a word and then to examine the exceptions; but this method often leads to a distortion of the evidence to make it conform to the assumed meaning of a word. It is only by examining all the relevant passages that one can assess accurately the range of meanings possessed by a word, and it is, moreover, only thus that one can appreciate the extent of the damage done to a piece of literature by the sloppy or inaccurate translation of a common word each time it occurs. Hence, although ἀμύμων occurs 116 times

[1] For the places of occurrence I have relied on Marzullo, *Concordances*; but all passages are quoted as in the Oxford Classical Texts. For textual variants see Appendix V.

in the two poems of Homer, it will be necessary to examine, at least briefly, every passage in which it is found.

To avoid misunderstanding, I should perhaps indicate also what I am not attempting to do. I am concerned with etymology insofar as some traditional derivations seem, on the evidence of usage in the poems, to be mistaken, and therefore to have contributed to the misunderstanding of a word; but I am not trying to establish etymologies. Most efforts to define Homeric words start with an etymological hypothesis; ancient scholia abounded with suggestions ranging from the patently ridiculous to the more plausible, and the latter are still generally accepted. But etymology is essentially irrelevant to the problem of meaning in a literary context. Whatever the etymology of a word may have been conjectured to be by the early grammarians, or whatever modern scholars may assert that it is, the meaning of a word for the composer of the Iliad and Odyssey, and therefore its proper meaning for us as readers of the poems can only be determined by its usage in the text of Homer. Once the meaning of a word is securely established, the problem of constructing derivations can then, but only then, be left to linguists. Unfortunately, as we shall see, the common practice is not to try to establish the meaning of a word first, but to assume as correct the meaning assigned by most lexica, and then to take the least absurd of the ancient etymologies, and finally to construct a chain of linguistically sophisticated links between the two (see below, pp. 71-72).

Nor do I concern myself with the knotty problems of early and late passages or the question of Iliadic versus Odyssean diction. I assume throughout that all the passages which now stand in our text have a right to be studied for what light they may shed on a word. When I apply the terms "early" and "late" to meanings, I refer by the first to the meaning which seems to be the original one, and by the second to a sense which would appear to have developed from it. It has long been the habit of Homeric scholars to assert, whenever it is convenient for them to do so, that such and such a word, meaning, form, or construction is "late," thereby often damning the line in which the offending item occurs as a post-Homeric interpolation. But, since we neither know the date of Homer, nor have any way of dating externally the linguistic phenomena in Homer, there is never evidence, far less proof, that

the "late" item, whatever it is, was not current before the date (or dates) at which our poems were composed. It should be too obvious to need stating that any poet, especially one who works, as the poet (or poets) of the Iliad and Odyssey must have done, near the end of a very old and conservative, yet ever developing, oral tradition, may use both archaic and "late" forms and meanings, sometimes within a single line; yet much scholarly ink is still expended in trying to "date" items in Homer.[1]

As for the old vexed, unanswerable question of how many poets composed our poems, I assume that a single poet composed each poem substantially in the forms they possess today. I used to wish, in the interests of economy, that one could be sure that a single poet composed both poems, but with each new word I investigate, I become more convinced that there must have been two. There are many discrepancies between the two poems in word usage, as in other respects. If enough people investigated enough words in Homer completely, it might be possible to draw more objective conclusions about authorship; but in our present state of ignorance and subjective feeling, it is fruitless to speculate. In any case, I avail myself of Parry's convenient practice of using "Homer" to refer either to the text or to the composer(s) of the Iliad and Odyssey.[2]

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[1] See e.g. Webster, "Early and Late" and Risch. Kirk, "Dating Criteria" is characteristically sensible in its scepticism, and surely right in accepting as Homeric many expressions which are implied by Chantraine and Shipp to be later than Homer. But when Kirk goes on to try to identify as post-Homeric interpolations various "anti-traditional distortions" and "faintly ludicrous" phrases (see *Songs*, pp. 200-210), his criteria seem too subjective. I suspect that, applied systematically (which Kirk has wisely refrained from doing), they would soon reduce the poems to the same chaotic patchwork that resulted from the labors of the Higher Critics.

[2] *L'Épithète*, p. 3, n. 1; "Epic Technique," p. 73, n. 2.

CHAPTER ONE

AMYMΩN OF VARIOUS CHARACTERS IN THE ILIAD

The epithet ἀμύμων is now almost universally rendered by "blameless," on the basis of one of the ancient etymologies offered by the scholia to Homer and by the early lexicographers. According to this etymology, ἀμύμων is formed from *alpha* privative and the noun μῶμος. This derivation, fortified by an unexamined assumption that μῶμος is roughly synonymous with the English words "blame" and "reproach" and their equivalents in French, German, etc., is accepted by current authorities,[1] in spite of the facts that there is not a single passage in Homer where the meaning "blameless" is necessary, only a few where it seems suitable, and a number where it is blatantly inappropriate. Perhaps the most famous of the latter is in the Odyssey, where Zeus blames ἀμύμων Aigisthos[2] for ignoring the gods' warnings and thus incurring the vengeance taken by Orestes for Aigisthos' murder of Agamemnon [1.29].[3] As far back as Aristarchus, this passage and others like it, where there is an evident contradiction between the accepted meaning of an epithet and its context, have been explained by the theory that the epithet is merely ornamental. In this century, Milman Parry, following Heinrich Düntzer, carried this kind of explanation a step farther by asserting that fixed epithets almost never have any relation to the idea of their sentence.[4] The ornamental-formulaic theory is the one most generally adopted to deal with the Aigisthos passage,[5] but it is also possible to fall back on an

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[1] E.g. Frisk, and Snell, *LdfgE*. For discussions of the derivation of ἀμύμων see below, pp. 29-39, 55-61, 71-73, 90-93, 159-160.

[2] For the most part I have used Greek spellings for the names of characters and places, but I have, with the time-honored inconsistency usual in this matter, clung to Europa, Helen and Penelope instead of Europeia, Helena and Penelopeia. I have also retained the usual Latin and/or Anglicized forms for the names of the gods and for Greek authors and their works.

[3] Line references to the Iliad and to the Odyssey are given in square brackets immediately following the citation; Roman numerals are used for books of the Iliad and Arabic for those of the Odyssey.

[4] See Parry, *L'Épithète*, pp. 151-2, 153-7.

[5] Thus Whitman, p. 335, n. 25: "A careless use of formulae probably accounts for ἀμύμων used of Aigisthos" (cf. p. 123); Stanford, *Odyssey*, vol. I,

admission that ἀμύμων is used "sometimes without regard to moral excellence." [1]

Because the derivation of ἀμύμων from μῶμος is so firmly established as a scholarly "fact," the definition of ἀμύμων offered in all modern lexica tend to arrange the evidence according to the preconceived notion that it means "blameless." The passages which may most plausibly be translated thus are cited first, and the fact that they are unusual is not noted; the scores of instances which "blameless" does not really fit are passed over in silence, although to enable one to translate these frequent obtrusions without becoming uncomfortable various generalized meanings for ἀμύμων are appended. For example, the two Homeric lexica most widely used by students give "noble, illustrious, goodly or the like" (Cunliffe), and "excellent ... often to mark personal appearance or nobility of birth" (Autenrieth-Flagg).[2] In order to avoid the obvious dangers of this procedure, we must not begin by assuming the truth of the traditional etymology, but should examine a number of passages with an open mind to see what meanings suggest themselves from the actual usage of ἀμύμων in the Homeric poems.

At first sight, admittedly, it seems hard to go beyond Cunliffe's statement that it is "an epithet of persons of general commendation." Of the sixty-five times that the adjective is used in the Iliad, it refers to people in all but nine instances (i.e. fifty-six times, or roughly 86% of the time).[3] Of the fifty-one times that it is used in the Odyssey, it refers to people in all but twelve instances (i.e. thirty-nine times, or roughly 76% of the time). It is never used of a

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pp. xviii-xix, uses this passage as one of the examples of Homer's use of "formulaic epithets or phrases rather ineptly or irrelevantly"; Cunliffe, p. 26, *s.v.* on 1.29: "app. as a merely conventional epithet." (The quotations from Cunliffe in the subsequent paragraphs above will be found also in his definition of ἀμύμων.)

[1] Autenrieth-Flagg, p. 21, *s.v.*; this implies (falsely, as we shall see) that usually ἀμύμων does have regard to moral excellence. Future quotations from and references to this work will be identified merely as "(Autenrieth-Flagg)," since statements will readily be found in the definitions of the words under discussion.

[2] As often, Flagg, in revising the old Autenrieth, only succeeded in worsening the original and (as we shall discover) more accurate definition, which said in part: "used esp. of external appearance, but also in a more general sense."; (Autenrieth, p. 27).

[3] The figure fifty-six includes the one instance when ἀμύμων is used of a horse; see pp. 54-55.

god in either poem. Let us consider first whether the persons to whom it is applied in the Iliad have any distinguishing characteristics which might make ἀμύμων particularly suitable to them.

In many cases, it is hard to find a common denominator. In the Iliad ἀμύμων is used thirteen times of Achilleus, and not once of Odysseus; but in the Odyssey, though still used of Achilleus three times, it is used ten times of Odysseus (four times, incidentally, by Odysseus himself when he is disguised as a beggar). In the Iliad thirty-one persons (or groups of persons) other than Achilleus are called ἀμύμων (or ἀμύμονες), and in the Odyssey twenty other than Odysseus. Clearly then, whatever it may mean, ἀμύμων does not belong to the same class as the epithets which distinguish the two chief heroes from each other and from the rest; it is not like ποδάρκης, swift-footed, used of Achilleus, and πολυμήχανος, full of wiles, used of Odysseus.

An alphabetical list of the persons other than Achilleus of whom ἀμύμων is used in the Iliad will be found in Appendix I, List 1.[1] Four items on this list (7, 15, 31, and 32) are in a special category, for in none of them is a character said to be ἀμύμων personally, but instead the adjective is used of people as members of a profession. These items, comprising five passages, will be considered later (see below, pp. 94-96, 117, and 119).

Some of the other characters are minor figures about whom we know too little to be able to deduce much about why they should be called ἀμύμων. Alkimedon makes a short appearance in XVII.467ff., but he is called the ἀμύμων son of Laerkes only in his even briefer appearance as the leader of the fifth contingent in the Myrmidon catalogue:

πέμπτης δ' Ἀλκιμέδων, Λαέρκεος υἱὸς ἀμύμων. [XVI.197]

Deiopites is only a name in a catalogue of men killed by Odysseus:

. . . ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἀμύμονα Δηϊοπίτην
οὔτασεν ὦμον ὕπερθεν. [XI.420-421]

Deukalion, son of Minos, occurs in the Iliad only in a genealogy given by Idomeneus:

Μίνως δ' αὖ τέκεθ' υἱὸν ἀμύμονα Δευκαλίωνα. [XIII.451]

[1] The readings of the Oxford Classical Texts of the Iliad and the Odyssey are used throughout as a basis for discussion and for the lists in Appendices I-III. A list and discussion of variant readings in passages containing ἀμύμων will be found in Appendix V.

Laodokos is a comrade of Antilochos, named only when Antilochos hands him his weapons as he leaves the field to report Patroklos' death to Achilleus:

βῆ δὲ θέειν, τὰ δὲ τεύχε' ἀμύμονι δῶκεν ἑταίρωι. [XVII.698]

The name of Neleus ordinarily occurs only in Nestor's patronymics, but once when Nestor is recounting a youthful exploit to Patroklos, he remarks, "twelve of us were sons of ἀμύμων Neleus":

δώδεκα γὰρ Νηλῆος ἀμύμονος υἱέες ἦμεν. [XI.692]

Rhigmos, a Thracian, appears only in a catalogue of men killed by Achilleus; we know the manner of his death, but nothing that might explain why he is called the ἀμύμων son of Peires:

αὐτὰρ ὁ βῆ ῥ' ἰέναι μετ' ἀμύμονα Πείρεω υἱόν. [XX.484]

Satnios too is mere cannon fodder, for the lesser Aias, in a minor episode; he is not rescued from obscurity by the information that an ἀμύμων naiad [1] nymph bore him to Enops by the banks of the Satnioeis river:

Ἠνοπίδην, ὃν ἄρα νύμφη τέκε νηῒς ἀμύμων
Ἤνοπι βουκολέοντι παρ' ὄχθας Σατνιόεντος. [XIV.444-445]

Portheus is the great-grandfather of Diomedes, mentioned only once, together with his ἀμύμονες sons, but without further details, by Diomedes himself in a genealogy intended to justify his right to give Agamemnon advice:

Πορθεῖ γὰρ τρεῖς παῖδες ἀμύμονες ἐξεγένοντο. [XIV.115]

Of the sons themselves, the only helpful hint is that, according to Diomedes, one (his own grandfather, Oineus) was the bravest—ἀρετῆι δ' ἦν ἔξοχος αὐτῶν [XIV.118]. Nestor's sons are called ἀμύμονες only in a casual reference. When Diomedes, upon being kicked awake by Nestor one anxious night, expresses astonishment

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[1] This passage is unique in Homer in that ἀμύμων modifies a noun (νηΐς) which is neither a proper name nor in the same class as nouns denoting either a trade (see Appendix I, p. 172, List 3) or people in a personal relationship (see Appendix I, p. 176, List 7). I have classed it with passages in which ἀμύμων modifies a proper name because it seems to me more or less accidental that the poet did not take the trouble to invent a proper name and say "a naiad nymph, ἀμύμων-----"; cf. VI.21-22 (p. 21) where ἀμύμων is transferred to the father's name and Abarbarea is used as a proper name for the nymph (unless indeedAbarbarea is not the naiad's name, but is an adjective derived from *alpha* privative + βόρβορος, mud, meaning "pellucid"—to elaborate on Leaf, *Iliad, ad loc.*, vol. I, p. 260).

at the old man's energy, Nestor explains that the situation is so grave that he himself is summoning the chiefs to a night council in Agamemnon's tent, but he admits: "I have ἀμύμονες sons, and plenty of subjects, one of whom could have come and called you":

εἰσὶν μέν μοι παῖδες ἀμύμονες, εἰσὶ δὲ λαοὶ
καὶ πολέες, τῶν κέν τις ἐποιχόμενος καλέσειεν. [X.170-171]

About several other characters who are called ἀμύμων we have more information, but the details are unhelpfully diverse. Thetis tells Achilleus that the gods have gone to feast with the ἀμύμονες Aithiopians:

Ζεὺς γὰρ ἐς 'Ωκεανὸν μετ' ἀμύμονας Αἰθιοπῆας
χθιζὸς ἔβη κατὰ δαῖτα, θεοὶ δ' ἅμα πάντες ἕποντο. [I.423-424]

We hear elsewhere that they live far away, near Ocean, and entertain the gods (see especially I.22ff.).

Andromache is once called ἀμύμων, in a line parallel to one in which she is called λευκώλενος, white-armed. When Hektor arrives unexpectedly from the battlefield, "he did not find white-armed Andromache in the house":

οὐδ' εὗρ' 'Ανδρομάχην λευκώλενον ἐν μεγάροισιν. [VI.371]

Andromache has gone to watch the battle from the walls, the poet explains, and adds that Hektor asked the maids where she went, "when [he] did not find his ἀμύμων wife within":

. . . ὡς οὐκ ἔνδον ἀμύμονα τέτμεν ἄκοιτιν. [VI.374]

Dares, a Trojan, is ἀμύμων, but we have little other information about him. We hear only that he is rich (ἀφνειός), a priest of Hephaistos, and the father of two sons who head the catalogue of those whom Diomedes attacks:

Ἦν δέ τις ἐν Τρώεσσι Δάρης, ἀφνειὸς ἀμύμων
ἱρεὺς 'Ηφαίστοιο· δύω δέ οἱ υἱέες ἤστην. [V.9-10]

Teukros is twice called ἀμύμων during his ἀριστεία. Once the poet introduces a catalogue of his victims by asking "whom first did ἀμύμων Teukros shoot?":

ἔνθα τίνα πρῶτον Τρώων ἕλε Τεῦκρος ἀμύμων; [VIII.273]

In the second instance, after Agamemnon tells Teukros to go on fighting as he is doing, and promises him gifts of honor if Troy is sacked, Teukros' reply that Agamemnon is urging him on unnecessarily is introduced by: "and answering him, ἀμύμων Teukros spoke":

τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσεφώνεε Τεῦκρος ἀμύμων. [VIII.292]

Now all these persons may perhaps be "blameless" in one way or another. The Aithiopians and Dares are pious; Andromache is a faithful wife; Teukros is a superior archer, who is, moreover, fighting his best when Agamemnon speaks to him. Yet the connotations of "blameless" are superfluous in each instance. Nowhere does the context suggest that the moral virtue of these four is of especial concern. A case might be made out for a general contrast between Andromache and Helen but Helen is not in question in the passage where Andromache is called ἀμύμων. Moreover, if ἀμύμων is meant to refer to Andromache's wifely virtue, there is a certain inconcinnity between it and λευκώλενος in the parallel line (see further below, p. 137-8 and p. 132, n. 4). As for the piety of the Aithiopians and Dares, it goes without saying that in Homer neither indulgence in sacrificial feasts, nor being a priest, is any guarantee of moral virtue, or of freedom from blame.[1] Above all, none of these four characters is in fact blamed, or even in danger of being so (for even Agamemnon's speech, however tactless in its superfluous advice, is one of praise and not reproach), so that ἀμύμων cannot

[1] For example, Chryses, the ἱερεύς of Apollo [I.23, 370, 377], is plainly not expected to respond with any Christian charity to Agamemnon's insult; his vindictiveness in calling down the terrible plague on all the Achaians, innocent and guilty alike, is as taken for granted as any other Homeric character's would be. Compare the episode in which Leiodes, the priest of the suitors begs for mercy, saying that he had tried to dissuade the suitors from their crimes; Odysseus retorts that if Leiodes was the suitors' priest he must, on the contrary, often have prayed for his (Odysseus') death, and kills him forthwith [22.310-329]. Leiodes is a θυοσκόος, while Dares, like Chryses, is a ἱερεύς, but the distinction between these is not clear from the Homeric poems; in any case it is never implied anywhere in Homer that a person who is a priest, whether θυοσκόος, ἱερεύς, μάντις, or ὀνειροπόλος, is especially virtuous in any way (see Amory, Diss. Harvard, Chap. I).

As for the Aithiopians, it was a puzzle even to the scholiasts why they should be praised as ἀμύμονες, in spite of their piety. The scholium Venetus A (Dindorff, I, p. 53) on I.423 simply defines ἀμύμονας as ὅ ἐστι πρὸς ἀμώμους, ἀγαθούς; but Eustathius on the same passage [97.17 (128.38)] reveals that the epithet, if thought of as meaning "blameless" or "good" is by no means self-explanatory: ἀμύμονας δὲ αὐτοὺς λέγει, οὐχ ὅτι πάντες ἀγαθοὶ ἀλλ' ὅτι τινές· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀνθρωποφαγοῦσιν. ἕτεροι δὲ τοὺς μακροβίους Αἰθίοπας ἀμύμονας λέγεσθαι νοοῦσι, περὶ ὧν καὶ ἐν τοῖς του Περιηγητοῦ γέγραπται. ἄλλοι δὲ γράφουσι μετὰ Μέμνονας Αἰθιοπῆας, λέγοντες Αἰθίοπάς τινας εἶναι οὕτω καλουμένους ἀπὸ Μέμνονος υἱοῦ Τιθωνοῦ καὶ Ἡμέρας. Instead of accepting these feeble explanations and emendations, it is wiser to admit that the trouble lies not in the epithet itself, but in the attempt to interpret it along the traditional lines of "blameless."

mean "blameless" in the sense of "undeserving of reproach." In short, only habit conceals the pointlessness of translating ἀμύμων by "blameless" in these passages, as well as in the preceding ones.

It is more pertinent to observe that of the fourteen passages so far quoted eight, or over half, occur in catalogue passages.[1] Deukalion and the sons of Portheus are called ἀμύμων in genealogical recitals; Alkimedon, Deïopites, Rhigmos, and Teukros (in the first passage) in lists of warriors who are going to battle, attacking, or being killed; Dares and Satnios' naiad mother in passages that combine a battle catalogue with a genealogical reference. Moreover, some of the other figures who appear in these catalogues are adorned with epithets or descriptions referring, not to their piety or moral worth or lack of culpability, but to their beauty, strength, or bravery. For example, two of Alkimedon's fellow Myrmidon leaders are called ἀρήϊος, warlike. [XVI.179 and 193]. After Odysseus has wounded Deïopites, he attacks Sokos, who is called ἰσόθεος φώς, a man the peer of a god [XI.428].[2] Before killing Rhigmos, Achilleus has killed Demouchos who was ἠΰν τε μέγαν τε, stalwart and tall) [XX.457].[3] For Satnios' naiad mother we may

[1] The historical and compositional problems raised by the catalogue of ships in the Iliad have diverted attention from the fact that catalogue passages of all kinds and lengths are exceedingly common throughout Homer. Appreciation of this feature of oral poetry is still so rudimentary that people often speak as if the end of Book II and the lists of Nereids in XVIII were the only catalogues in Homer. In fact, however, catalogue passages vary from short lists of three or more proper names with one perhaps adorned by a single epithet to whole books in which the adornment consists of a complete episode so that the catalogue framework is disguised. Almost all the battle books in the Iliad are constructed out of elegantly interwoven and varied catalogues, with assorted kinds of adornment. Similarly the larger part of XXIII, the funeral games of Patroklos, is composed almost entirely of catalogues of varying length and elaboration. See Beye and especially Austin.

[2] The adjective ἰσόθεος occurs only twelve times in the Iliad, twice in the Odyssey, always in the formula ἰσόθεος φώς, which always appears at the end of a line. Nestor is the best guide to its meaning; he speaks of Ereuthalion, ἰσόθεος φώς, "the tallest and strongest man I killed" in a youthful exploit—τὸν δὴ μήκιστον καὶ κάρτιστον κτάνον ἄνδρα [VII.155]. See also Euryalos, of whom the formula is used twice, once in the catalogue of ships and once when he alone dares face the champion boxer Epeios. Persons called ἀμύμων of whom this formula is used are Patroklos, Menelaos, and Telemachos. There are no cases where ἰσόθεος must mean godlike in mind, wisdom, morals, or any non-physical way. For a complete list of occurrences see Appendix II, List 1.

[3] The adjective ἐΰς (ἠΰς) is close in meaning to ἀμύμων, the chief difference being that it emphasizes strength and valor rather than beauty *per se*. Its basic meaning appears most clearly perhaps in the exchanges between Priam

compare another figure from Alkimedon's catalogue, Menesthios, whom καλή, beautiful, Polydora bore [XVI.175]. Menesthios himself, incidentally, is described as αἰολοθώρηξ, having a glancing corselet, which, if ἀμύμων means morally "blameless," makes him and Alkimedon strangely assorted colleagues. It is surely more reasonable to assume that ἀμύμων, at least when used in a catalogue, has the same kind of meaning as the other epithets which appear in this kind of passage.

For Dares we have a more complicated, but illuminating, parallel passage. In the course of the struggle over Patroklos' body, Menelaos kills a comrade of Hektor, Podes, who is introduced in much the same way as Dares:

> ἔσκε δ' ἐνὶ Τρώεσσι Ποδῆς, υἱὸς Ἠετίωνος,
> ἀφνειός τ' ἀγαθός τε· μάλιστα δέ μιν τίεν Ἕκτωρ
> δήμου, ἐπεί οἱ ἑταῖρος ἔην φίλος εἰλαπιναστής. [XVII.575-577]

The phrase ἀφνειός τ' ἀγαθός τε might be interpreted as meaning "rich and (morally) good," thus supporting the translation of ἀμύμων by "blameless" in Dares' case, but ἀγαθός in the Iliad more usually means "brave" (as, for example, in I.131), and we find this meaning confirmed for the Podes passage a few lines later when Apollo, in the guise of Asios, calls Podes "brave among champions" —ἐσθλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι [XVII.590]. On this analogy, ἀμύμων in the Dares' case should, like ἀγαθός, be a normal Homeric epithet referring to the physical appearance or bravery of a person. Dares, it is true, is not, unlike Podes, an actual combatant, but Homer customarily uses the same kinds of adjectives of the fathers of heroes as

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and Helen in the Teichoskopia, where the same formula quoted (p. 15) of Demouchos is used of Agamemnon and Aias, and where the dialogue shows that to be ἐΰς was to be large, strong, beautiful, and brave [III.167-179 and 225-229]. This same formula is also used of Akamas the Thracian in the same catalogue which includes ἀμύμων Boukolion (see p. 21) [VI.8]; and of Iphidamas, the brother of ἀμύμων and κρατερός Agenor [XI.221] (see p. 22). Persons called both ἀμύμων and ἐΰς are: Gorgythion [VIII.303] (see p. 21); Bellerophontes [VI.191] (see pp. 23-28); and Patroklos, who is both the ἠΰς θεράπων [XVI.653] and ἕταρον ἀμύμονα of Achilleus (see pp. 39-46). Aineias is thrice called the ἐΰς παῖς of Anchises, once [XII.98] in one of the same catalogues in which Poulydamas is called ἀμύμων (see p. 47). Ἐΰς is like ἀμύμων and unlike most of the adjectives in Appendix II in that it developed an extended meaning: it is used with μένος as well as with persons, and in three passages the neuter plural is used substantively for "goods" as opposed to evils. If we take ᾗσιν in 10.553 as from ἐΰς, the passage furnishes an analogy to the use of ἀμύμων with θυμός (see pp. 100-102). For a list of references see Appendix II, List 2.

he does of the heroes themselves; a glance at the passages quoted in Appendix II will abundantly confirm the truth of this statement. It may be noted also that the combination of ἀμύμων and ἀφνειός occurs once again in Homer, of Odysseus' house, in a passage where ἀμύμων has a developed, but still not moral meaning; see below, pp. 104-105.

Anchises, Peleus, the sons of Tros, Laomedon, Gorgythion, Boukolion, Agenor, Glaukos, and Bellerophontes also are each called ἀμύμων in a catalogue and/or genealogical passage. More important, these figures at last share one identifiable trait, for in all nine cases there is good reason to suppose that those called ἀμύμων are men of notable physical appearance. Sthenelos once remarks "Aineias boasts himself to be the son of ἀμύμων Anchises":

Αἰνείας δ' υἱὸς μὲν ἀμύμονος 'Αγχίσαο
εὔχεται ἐκγεγάμεν. [V.247-248]

Readers of Vergil may feel that "blameless" is a perfectly appropriate epithet for the old and undeniably virtuous *pater Anchises* whom we find in the Aeneid, but the view of Anchises which Homer and his audience had is much more likely to be ascertained correctly from the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite. There it is said that Aphrodite fell in love with Anchises because he was "like the gods in form" [55], and Anchises is described as "having beauty from the gods" [77]. Aphrodite herself excuses her love for a mortal man by saying, "of all mortals the men of your family are especially near to the gods in appearance and size" [200-201], citing as examples "Ganymedes, whom Zeus carried off because of his beauty" [202-203] and "Tithonos, looking like the gods" whom Dawn carried off [218-219]. She is ashamed of her passion because Anchises must grow old, but she admits that she would not be, "if you could live on such as you are now in look and form" [241-242]. The language in all these passages is similar to that which Homer uses in association with people who are called ἀμύμων.[1]

[1] With δέμας ἀθανάτοισι ἐοικώς [H.H. V.55], cf. VIII.305 (Gorgythion's mother, p. 21); with θεῶν ἄπο κάλλος ἔχοντα [H.H. V.77], cf. Appendix II, p. 218, List 10, I. 3, 4, and 7); with ἀγχίθεοι δὲ μάλιστα καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων / αἰεὶ ἀφ' ὑμετέρης γενεῆς εἶδός τε φυήν τε [H.H. V.200-201], cf. 5.35 (the Phaiakians, p. 118); with Γανυμήδεα μητιέτα Ζεὺς / ἥρπασε ὃν διὰ κάλλος [H.H. V.202-203], cf. XX.233-234 (Ganymedes, p. 19); with Τιθωνὸν... ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισι [H.H. V.218-219], cf. XIX.155 (Achilleus, p. 63); with ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν τοιοῦτος ἐὼν εἶδός τε δέμας τε / ζώοις [H.H. V.241-242], cf. 8.116 etc. (see p. 118). The two statements denying a resemblance to a god, [5.210-218]

The beauty of the family is stressed in the Iliad in the genealogy which Aineias recites to Achilleus when they meet in battle. He begins with a compliment to his opponent: "they say that you are the offspring of ἀμύμων Peleus and sea-born Thetis of the lovely hair":

φασὶ σὲ μὲν Πηλῆος ἀμύμονος ἔκγονον εἶναι,
μητρὸς δ' ἐκ Θέτιδος καλλιπλοκάμου ἁλοσύδνης. [XX.206-207]

As for himself, Aineias boasts that he is the son of Anchises and Aphrodite. Their good looks he apparently considers too well-known to need mentioning, but when he traces the rest of his lineage, he specifies that the three sons of Tros were ἀμύμονες, and dwells on the godlike (ἀντίθεος) [1] Ganymedes, fairest (κάλλιστος) of men, whom the gods took up to serve as the cup-bearer of Zeus on account of his beauty (κάλλεος). He adds that the elder brother of Ganymedes, Ilos, had a son, ἀμύμων Laomedon, and that Laomedon in turn had sons, including Tithonos, whom Aphrodite in the Homeric Hymn used as an example of mortal beauty, as we have just seen), and Priam, father of ἀμύμων Gorgythion (see below, p. 21):

Τρωὸς δ' αὖ τρεῖς παῖδες ἀμύμονες ἐξεγένοντο,
Ἶλός τ' Ἀσσάρακός τε καὶ ἀντίθεος Γανυμήδης,
ὃς δὴ κάλλιστος γένετο θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων·

(Penelope) and [7.208-210] (Odysseus) use similar language, inverted, for a special purpose (see pp. 152-154).

[1] Of the thirty times that ἀντίθεος occurs in the Iliad, more than half are in catalogue passages and/or casual references, but it clearly means godlike in body—in size, strength, and beauty; see especially Nestor's list of the strongest men he knew and the description of the giants Otos and Ephialtes. It never plainly implies godlike in mind or morals; on the contrary it is used of the suitors, and of Polyphemos, the savage, lawless, and inhospitable, but surpassingly strong, Kyklops. The application of ἀντίθεος to the suitors has especially troubled critics because ὑπερφιάλοισιν is applied to them nine lines below [14.27]; see Parry, *L'Épithète*, p. 152. But it is only the erroneous assumption that ἀντίθεος is moral rather than physical that creates any problem. One could also be both ἀντίθεος and (at least temporarily) cowardly, for Sarpedon twice rebukes the ἀντίθεοι Lykians for fleeing or shirking battle. Several persons in Homer besides Ganymedes are called both ἀντίθεος and ἀμύμων: Agenor (see p. 22), Klytoneos (see p. 118), Pandaros (see pp. 51-54), Neleus (see p. 12), Menelaos (see pp. 39-40), Penelope (see p. 133), and Odysseus (see p. 148). Persons called ἀντίθεος in catalogues similar to ones where someone is called ἀμύμων are Lykophontes, one of the victims of Teukros (cf. Gorgythion, p. 21) and Polyphetes (cf. Poulydamas, p. 48). For a complete list of references and occurrences in both poems see Appendix II., List 3.

τὸν καὶ ἀνηρείψαντο θεοὶ Διὶ οἰνοχοεύειν
κάλλεος εἵνεκα οἷο, ἵν' ἀθανάτοισι μετείη.
Ἶλος δ' αὖ τέκεθ' υἱὸν ἀμύμονα Λαομέδοντα·
Λαομέδων δ' ἄρα Τιθωνὸν τέκετο Πρίαμόν τε . . .
[XX.231-237]

The end of Aineias' speech is noteworthy; he suggests that he and Achilleus abandon words and turn to a trial of strength, "for one could utter many reproaches (ὀνείδεα) against us both":

ἔστι γὰρ ἀμφοτέροισιν ὀνείδεα μυθήσασθαι
πολλὰ μάλ'. [XX.246-247]

Whatever benefits, then, accrue to one from having ἀμύμονες ancestors, freedom from all blame is apparently not one of them (cf. on ὀνείδεα, Ch. II, p. 33 n. 2).

And what of ἀμύμων Peleus? It is easy to think of him as a harmless old man, "blameless" in some general sense, since in the Iliad he appears only in brief references, as Achilleus' father. But we know from other sources that his past before he married Thetis was lurid, to say the least. He first joined with his brother Telamon, the father of Aias, to murder their half-brother Phokos; exiled for this crime, he married Antigone, the daughter of Eurytion, but he slew his father-in-law (accidentally). Again exiled, he was purified by his host, Akastos; but Akastos' wife, Astydameia, fell in love with him and, when Peleus would not co-operate, arranged the suicide of his wife, Antigone. In due course, Peleus took his revenge by capturing Akastos' city and cutting Astydameia to bits [Apollodoros III. 160ff.]. We are told also that Hesiod related at length some disgraceful story about Peleus and the wife of Akastos [fr. 55, Loeb p. 184].

It is, of course, possible that Homer did not know these stories, or that he purposely suppressed them, but even so, there is no reason to suppose that ἀμύμων refers to Peleus' moral status. From the whole tenor of Aineias' speech it is much more likely to refer to Peleus' looks, thus balancing καλλιπλοκάμου, of the lovely hair, for Thetis, and having the same meaning as it does when applied to Aineias' ancestors. The other epithets used of him bear this out, for none of them suggests that Homer thought of him as especially virtuous;[1] and like others who are called ἀμύμων, he is called

[1] Nestor once speaks of Peleus as ἐσθλὸς Μυρμιδόνων βουληφόρος ἠδ' ἀγορητής [VII.126]. Antilochos once addresses Achilleus as Πηλέος υἱὲ δαϊ-

δαΐφρων (see below, pp. 25-26 and notes). A further consideration is that, since he is called ἀμύμων in a genealogical passage, and since his son Achilleus is pre-eminently ἀμύμων (see below, pp. 62-68), Peleus is most probably the handsome father of a handsome son.

Priamos, the brother of Tithonos, is never called ἀμύμων in Homer but he is called ἰσόθεος once (see above, p. 15, n. 2) and θεοειδής, like a god in form or appearance, nine times.[1] He has a

φρονος [XVIII.18]. Otherwise Peleus is most often called ἱππηλάτα: by Nestor [VII.125, XI.772]; by Phoinix [IX.438]; and by Achilleus [XVIII.331]. He shares the epithet ἱππηλάτα with Oineus [IX.581], with Tydeus [IV.387], and with Phoinix [IX.432, XVI.196, XIX.311] (the last two instances are in catalogues). Peleus is twice called ἱππότα, both times by Patroklos [XVI.33, XXIII.89]. This epithet is also applied to Tydeus [V.126], and to Oineus [XIV.117] (in Diomedes' genealogical catalogue; cf. p. 11), as well as to Phyleus, the father of Meges [II.628] (in the catalogue of ships), and, most frequently, to Nestor (twenty-one times).

The confinement of these last two epithets to the older generation of heroes, combined with the archaic ending -ᾰ, suggests the possibility that they go back to a time when chariot-driving and chariot-fighting played a larger part in battle poetry than they do in our Iliad; cf. Palmer, "Language," p. 108, and Webster, "Historical Commentary," p. 457, in Wace, and Stubbings. Curiously enough this possibility is not mentioned by either of those diligent hunters for relics of Mycenean epic, Kirk, *Songs*, and Page, *Iliad*. Page does mention ἱππότα as an "antiquated formula," but only in passing (p. 282, n. 6). Kirk is oddly convinced that references to chariot-fighting are post-Homeric interpolations, pp. 124, 189, and 322. Here Kirk lapses into one of the most frequent fallacies in recent Homeric studies—he forgets for the moment the nature of oral poetry and treats it like written literature. It is clear, as he says, that if any Mycenean poetry describing battles in which chariot-fighting took place had survived into the later epic tradition, the absurdities connected with chariots in our poems would never have arisen. But in an oral tradition, *poems* do not ordinarily survive, only the raw material for them. It seems quite likely that Mycenean songs describing chariot-fighting existed, and that these included the archaic noun-epithet formulas under discussion (although Phoinix and Phyleus may be late analogical formations), but Homer would not have known these Mycenean songs intact. He would have heard only the latest descendents of them, in which the precise nature and function of battle chariots had become confused, but in which these formulas survived, and in which the pre-Trojan war exploits of heroes like Peleus, Oineus, Tydeus, and Nestor were related (for it is clear in some of the passages in the Iliad where these epithets occur that he knows stories about the earlier careers of these heroes).

However that may be, it is enough for our purposes to note that Peleus' traditional epithets present him as a conventional (though perhaps old-fashioned) warrior, rather than as a man of especially remarkable moral virtue.

[1] For these and other line references see Appendix II, List 4. The only two persons called both ἀμύμων and θεοειδής are Alkinoos (see p. 118) and Telemachos (see p. 130), indicating that θεοειδής refers primarily to looks, without the marked overtones of strength and bravery possessed by ἀμύμων, ἐΰς,

stalwart (ἐΰς, for which see above, p. 15, n. 3) son, ἀμύμων Gorgythion, who appears only in a catalogue of those wounded by Teukros, and whose mother is lovely καλή Kastianeira, like the goddesses in form:

ὁ δ' ἀμύμονα Γοργυθίωνα
υἱὸν ἐΰν Πριάμοιο κατὰ στῆθος βαλεν ἰῶι,
τόν ῥ' ἐξ Αἰσύμηθεν ὀπυιομένη τέκε μήτηρ
καλὴ Καστιάνειρα δέμας εἰκυῖα θεῇισι. [VIII.302-305]

Still another member of this family is ἀμύμων, namely Boukolion, who appears only in a catalogue as the father of twins slain by Euryalos. He is the eldest son of Laomedon, born out of wedlock by the naiad nymph Abarbarea:

βῆ δὲ μετ' Αἴσηπον καὶ Πήδασον, οὕς ποτε νύμφη
νηῒς 'Αβαρβαρέη τέκ' ἀμύμονι Βουκολίωνι.
Βουκολίων δ' ἦν υἱὸς ἀγαυοῦ Λαομέδοντος
πρεσβύτατος γενεῆι, σκότιον δέ ἑ γείνατο μήτηρ. [VI.21-24]

Then there is Agenor, one of the numerous sons of the councillor Antenor. His moment of glory comes when he enables the other Trojans to reach the city by remaining alone to face Achilleus, who is fighting so irresistibly that, the poet says, the Achaians might have taken Troy then, if Apollo had not sent against him "a man, the powerful (κρατερός) and ἀμύμων son of Antenor":

φῶτ' 'Αντήνορος υἱὸν ἀμύμονά τε κρατερόν τε. [XXI.546]

If ἀμύμων means morally "blameless," the combination with κρατερός is somewhat odd, and the phrase is evidently a standard formula, for Homer uses it again of Pandaros (see below, pp. 51-54), of Achilleus (see below, p. 65), and of Antilochos (see below, p. 51); it appears several times in Hesiod as well (see below, p. 75). Glaukos too (see below) is called κρατερός [XII.387], though not in the same places where he is said to be ἀμύμων. Agenor's most common epithets are δῖος, splendid, and μεγάθυμος, energetic, resolute, or brave;[1]

ἀντίθεος, and ἰσόθεος. This is confirmed by the fact that it is used most often of the aged Priam and his handsome, but only occasionally brave, son Alexandros (twelve times). Once, however, the epithet is used of another son of Priam, Deiphobos, in a catalogue of the bravest Trojans, which includes also ἀμύμων Poulydamas and the ἐΰς son of Anchises (see above, p. 15, n. 3).

[1] The exact meaning of μεγάθυμος of course depends on which of the various functions of the θυμός should be stressed (on these see Snell, *Discovery*, pp.9-17). It is hard to be certain, because an unusually high proportion of the instances of μεγάθυμος are in casual references and/or dependent genitives, so

also he is once called ἀντίθεος (see above, p. 18, n. 1). One of his brothers, Iphidamas, is called stalwart and tall—ἠΰς τε μέγας τε (see above, p. 15, n. 3); and a third, Akamas, is said to look like the gods—ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισι [XI.60] (see below, p. 64, n. 1). Here then we have another family cluster of handsome, strong, brave men, and ἀμύμων most probably indicates that Agenor runs true to the family type.

Glaukos, a Lykian ally of the Trojans, is twice called ἀμύμων, once at his first appearance in the poem, in the catalogue of ships:

Σαρπηδὼν δ' ἦρχεν Λυκίων καὶ Γλαῦκος ἀμύμων. [II.876]

The second time is in a small catalogue of brave men who gather around to protect Hektor when he has been stunned by Aias:

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that the contexts do not provide as much control of the meaning as usual; my feeling, however, is that of the main functions of the θυμός three are all present together in most of the instances: energy, endurance, and spirit or temper. See Appendix II, List 5 for a complete list of occurrences. Μεγάθυμος differs from the other epithets which are associated with ἀμύμων in being applied much more frequently to national groups (twenty-six times to ten different nations). In contrast ἀμύμων is used only of the Aithiopians and of the Phaiakians, once each; ἀντίθεος only of the Lykians, twice; ἴφθιμος of the Lykians thrice, and of the Laistrygonians twice; the other adjectives in Appendix II are never used of nations.

The single application of μεγάθυμος to a bull is paralleled by the one instance in which ἀμύμων is applied to a horse (see pp. 54-55); but μεγάθυμος is completely unique in this group in being applied to a god (twice to Athena) [8.520 and 13.121]. The oddity of these two passages appears to have escaped the attention of editors, for none comments upon the use of μεγάθυμος in either, and both are regularly misinterpreted to some extent. In the first, (App. II, 5, D. 3a), most editors and translators restrict the line too closely to the combat which Odysseus and Menelaos fought at Deiphobos' house. The whole context, of which this is the climax, the echo in καὶ ἔπειτα of τῆι περ δὴ καὶ ἔπειτα τελευτήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν [8.510], and the adjective μεγάθυμος which used thus unprecedentedly summons up all the many battles of the Iliad, combine to give the line a wider reference, namely to the whole war, whose beginning Athena was involved in, whose course was so steadily and deeply a matter of concern to her, and for whose successful conclusion she most of all, as the inspirer of the device of the wooden horse, was responsible. In the second passage (App. II, 5,D. 3b), the phrase διὰ μεγάθυμον 'Αθήνην is universally assumed to go with the main verb ὤπασαν (see, e.g. Segal, "Phaeacians" p. 55), both here and in the later similar line ὤπασαν οἴκαδ' ἰόντι ἐμῆι βουλῆι τε νόωι τε [13.305]. There are, however, good reasons for taking the phrase rather with the participle, ἰόντι: Athena did not in fact inspire the Phaiakians to give gifts (except indirectly, insofar as she is the symbol of the qualities in Odysseus which invited reward), and μεγάθυμος is unsuitable to this action, whereas the Odyssey shows in detail the plans whereby Athena arranges for the return of Odysseus via Scheria, and μεγάθυμος is a suitable description of her in her successful opposition to Poseidon as well as in her more energetic and positive actions.

Σαρπηδών τ', ἀρχὸς Λυκίων, καὶ Γλαῦκος ἀμύμων. [XIV.426]

Glaukos acts throughout as the loyal companion of his cousin Sarpedon, and he might well be described as "blameless" in this respect. But if ἀμύμων is intended to present him in this role, it is odd that its use is confined to the two incidental catalogues quoted above. A perfect opportunity to describe Glaukos as an irreproachably faithful friend occurs when, after Sarpedon's death, Glaukos goes to defend the body, although wounded himself [XVI.508-547]. But instead Glaukos is left unadorned by a single epithet throughout this display of exemplary loyalty. Consequently, ἀμύμων probably refers not to his character or to his morals, but to his physical appearance, especially as we again find an association with a family of notable physical appearance. Not only are the Lykians in general and Glaukos' cousin, Sarpedon, the son of Zeus, called both ἀντίθεος (see above, p. 18, n. 1) and ἴφθιμος, mighty,[1] but Glaukos' grandfather, Bellerophontes, is remarkably beautiful and strong, as well as valiant.

Bellerophontes appears only in the genealogy which Glaukos relates to Diomedes when they meet in a famous encounter, but the episode offers one of the richest contexts in either poem for the use of ἀμύμων, which is thrice applied to Bellerophontes. First, in the course of relating his entire lineage, Glaukos says that his great-grandfather, also named Glaukos, "begot ἀμύμων Bellerophontes, to whom the gods granted beauty and an attractive manhood, but against whom Proitos plotted evils in his heart":

αὐτὰρ Γλαῦκος τίκτεν ἀμύμονα Βελλεροφόντην·
τῶι δὲ θεοὶ κάλλος τε καὶ ἠνορέην ἐρατεινὴν
ὤπασαν· αὐτάρ οἱ Προῖτος κακὰ μήσατο θυμῶι. [VI.155-157]

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[1] That ἴφθιμος means "mighty" seems incontrovertible from such passages as VIII.144, XII.410, XX.356, and XVII.749 (see Appendix II, List 6 for a complete list of occurrences). The only reason that this translation makes scholars uncomfortable enough to suggest "stately, goodly" (see, e.g., Autenrieth-Flagg), is that the epithet is fairly often used of women. But it is manifest that Homeric heroes and the Greeks in general admired Amazonian women (see further, p. 61). Frisk, p. 745, says that the traditional (and obvious) derivation from ἴς, ἶφι is made very unlikely by the lack of initial digamma but since neither ἴς nor ἶφι themselves show clear traces of initial digamma (whose original presence is inferred largely from the assumed Latin cognate *vis*), I cannot see that this is a respectable reason for discarding the derivation. In any case, the usage in Homer is clear and consistent enough to make the usual label "doubtful word" unnecessary.

The explanation of this last phrase leads us into a story reminiscent of Hippolytos. Proitos, Glaukos explains, was responsible for Bellerophontes' exile to Lykia, for his wife Anteia fell in love with valiant (δαΐφρων) Bellerophontes, but was unable to seduce him, because he was of upright heart—ἀγαθὰ φρονέοντα δαΐφρονα Βελλεροφόντην [VI.162]. She then, like Phaidra, lyingly told her husband that Bellerophontes had tried to seduce her. Proitos, like Theseus, mistakenly believing his wife's charges, sent the young man to his father-in-law, the king of Lykia, with instructions that he be killed. The king first sent Bellerophontes on dangerous missions (here the story begins to resemble that of Eurystheus and Herakles), and when they failed to eliminate him, he set an ambush of the best men in Lykia, but this device too failed, "for ἀμύμων Bellerophontes slew them all":

πάντας γὰρ κατέπεφνεν ἀμύμων Βελλεροφόντης [VI.190]

After this, the king, recognizing that Bellerophontes was the stalwart offspring of a god—θεοῦ γόνον ἠΰν [VI.191] gave him his daughter to wed, and half his kingdom. The king's daughter bore three children to δαΐφρων Bellerophontes [VI.196], one of whom was the mother of godlike (ἀντίθεος) Sarpedon, and one of whom was the father of Glaukos [VI.199 and 206]. This is not the happy ending, however, for the story suddenly takes a mysteriously sinister twist: Bellerophontes, for unexplained reasons, becomes hated by all the gods [VI.200-205]. Glaukos understandably closes the door very quickly on these family skeletons, stressing instead the traditions of valor in the family [VI.206-211], to such good effect that Diomedes joyfully puts aside his spear and remarks that they are old guest-friends, "for splendid (δῖος) Oineus [Diomedes' own grandfather] once entertained ἀμύμων Bellerophontes, keeping him twenty days in his halls; and they exchanged many beautiful gifts of friendship":

Οἰνεὺς γάρ ποτε δῖος ἀμύμονα Βελλεροφόντην
ξείνισ' ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἐείκοσιν ἤματ' ἐρύξας·
οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀλλήλοισι πόρον ξεινήϊα καλά. [VI.216-218]

Most translators render ἀμύμων "blameless" throughout this episode, and on a casual inspection it fits well enough, for Bellerophontes is certainly falsely blamed by Anteia. Moreover, the common translation of δαΐφρων as "wise, prudent" and the phrase ἀγαθὰ φρονέοντα seem to support the interpretation of ἀμύμων as

"(morally) blameless." Now ἀγαθὰ φρονέοντα is in fact a phrase with moral connotations, but not the same ones as many assume. It does not mean that Bellerophontes was sexually chaste or personally virtuous, but rather that he had a proper respect for the main conventions of Homeric life (cf. ἀγαθαὶ φρένες, below, Chap. VII p. 141 and n. 2). We should not suppose that his innate chastity leads him to refuse Anteia, since, unlike Hippolytos, he later marries and has children; he is, rather, reluctant (unlike Alexandros in Menelaos' house) to dishonor his host and infringe the laws of hospitality (see Chap. II, p. 31, n. 1).

As for δαΐφρων, the belief that it means "wise, prudent" is based on a derivation from the root of δαῆναι, to learn, but another possible etymology, from δαίω, blaze, produces the meaning "fiery-hearted, valiant." The first derivation and meaning are currently accepted,[1] but it is demonstrable that throughout Homer the latter derivation and meaning are preferable,[2] and there is no reason to

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[1] See Frisk, p. 343, who merely produces a more sophisticated version of Hesychius, including the standard explanation of the obvious meaning "brave, gallant" throughout the Iliad as "wise in battle." Cf. Leaf on XXIV. 325, vol. II, p. 560: "prudent, acc. to Buttmann an Odyssean use, the word elsewhere in Il. meaning *warlike* (from δαϊσ-). It is, however, possible to take it as = wise in both poems, the difference being due to a reflexion from the martial atmosphere of the *Iliad*." This is a fine example of the prevailing intellectual and moral bias of scholars in assessing the meaning of Homeric words, for the truth is almost exactly the opposite; see van der Valk, *Iliad*, I, 472.

[2] Parry, in a curious piece of reasoning, *L'Épithète*, p. 160, says that the significance of δαΐφρων (used of Bellerophontes) is so vague that the reader has little impulse to seek a particularized meaning for it. But because it is a compound with recognizable parts, like ἀντίθεος, its meaning to Homer and his audience must have been clear and definite. The -φρων part is incontrovertible; the only question is whether the first part is δάϊς, or is to be connected with δαῆναι. A glance at the usage shows that δαΐφρων is a metrical companion to ἀμύμων, for it is used in the same positions (see p. 102, n. 2, and p. 109, n. 1), but where the preceding word ends with a vowel, so that an epithet beginning with a consonant is required. Δαΐφρων is used almost exclusively with the proper names of warriors, in the same kinds of passages that we have been examining for ἀμύμων, and the meaning "valiant" because having a mind bent on δάϊς, battle, is by far the most plausible.

"Prudent" would be suitable only in a few instances. A formula used six times of Odysseus, combines δαΐφρων with ποικιλομήτις, but the contexts are usually martial, and the epithets could as well be complementary as synonymous. Its use of the Phaiakian craftsman Polybos [8.373], where "skillful" (but not "prudent") would be more suitable than "valiant," can be accounted for by the use of δαΐφρων with two others in the Odyssey named Polybos, where "valiant" is better. The only really peculiar passage is 15.356 where δαΐφρων modifies ἀλόχοιο, of Antikleia; it is never elsewhere used of a

suppose that the application of δαΐφρων to Bellerophontes is anomalous. On the contrary, the translation of it here as "wise, prudent" is more trouble than it is worth. Bellerophontes may have been upright in resisting Anteia, but he was scarcely prudent, since he might have foreseen the consequences of scorning a woman. And if, in this instance, δαΐφρων is meant to indicate that Bellerophontes with Anteia was "'wise' in the *moral* sense," as one editor asserts,[1] what are we to do with the second instance, in which the epithet is used of Bellerophontes as a husband and father? Either Homer was careless with his epithets, or δαΐφρων did not mean "morally wise." The first choice is always tempting, since it saves one the trouble of deciding what Homer meant in both passages, but the temptation must be resisted. If δαΐφρων has its normal meaning in the Iliad it has the function of reminding us that Glaukos is more interested in impressing Diomedes with his family's valor than in praising the moral wisdom of one member of it. But this is not to say that δαΐφρων is totally irrelevant to the two places where it occurs. In the first it confirms that Bellerophontes refused Anteia from a sense of honor befitting a Homeric warrior, not from the Christian virtue of chastity; in the second it is suitable not only to the main theme of Glaukos' family, but to the fact that Bellerophontes won his wife by his valor.

But even if the notions that δαΐφρων means "morally wise" and that it thus supports the translation of ἀμύμων by "blameless" in a moral sense must be abandoned, it might still be thought that ἀμύμων is roughly synonymous with ἀγαθὰ φρονέοντα, meaning that Bellerophontes is an irreproachable Homeric gentleman, un-

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woman, or with any other noun than υἱός. Here "prudent" would obviously be better than "valiant," but one passage out of fifty-seven seems slight evidence, and it is better to take this as an oral slip. For a list of references see Appendix II, List 7.

[1] Bayfield, in his revision of Leaf's *Iliad*, vol. 1, p. 389. The whole note on VI.162 is a masterpiece of muddled thinking, making nonsense of Leaf's original notes (though Bayfield claims in his preface, p.v, that Leaf is "to be understood to assent to any divergences from his previously published views"), and exactly reversing the meanings of ἀγαθὰ φρονέοντα and δαΐφρων. Stanford, *Ambiguity*, p. 99 cites this passage as an example of Homer's deliberate avoidance of ambiguity: "ἀγαθὰ φρονέοντα warns us to take δαΐφρονα in its ethical, and not in its warlike sense." This springs from Stanford's mistaken view that words in Homer's time had only vague, general meanings (see Intro., p. 1, n. 3). Parry, *L'Épithète*, pp. 159-160, takes δαΐφρονα to mean intelligent, and uses its occurrence here as proof that epithets do not have particularized meanings; cf. above, p. 25, n. 2.

deserving of the μῶμος he incurs when Proitos believes that Bellerophontes has abused his hospitality. We have not yet attempted to determine what μῶμος means in Homer, but this context suggests at least two possibilities: μῶμος might denote either Anteia's false accusation, or Proitos' reaction to it. But speculation here is rendered unnecessary by the plain fact that ἀμύμων is not used of Bellerophontes in close connection with Proitos and Anteia. Instead we find it at the end of the little genealogical catalogue with which Glaukos begins his speech, in close connection with a line about his physical beauty. The epithet, therefore, probably has nothing to do with the moral situation involving Proitos and Anteia, although it does suggest, if it means "handsome," an explanation of Anteia's passion (see below on Aigisthos, pp. 123-4).

Moreover, if ἀμύμων did describe Bellerophontes as "blameless" in respect to Proitos and Anteia, we would be faced with the further difficulty that he is called ἀμύμων again in a different context, where none of the connotations of "blameless" which might fit the situation with Anteia is suitable. In the second instance ἀμύμων would have to connote "unfairly attacked," for Bellerophontes had not harmed his assailants, but this meaning would be almost unique (see below on Telemachos, pp. 127-129). It might well be argued that the meaning "heinously plotted against by his host" would describe Bellerophontes' position in regard to both Proitos and the king of Lykia, but this notion will not fit the third passage, where Bellerophontes is called ἀμύμων, for although Bellerophontes is once again a guest, it is obvious that he is a properly honored one. We should also take into consideration here the fact that the king of Lykia desisted from his attempts to gratify Proitos by killing Bellerophontes, not because he realized Bellerophontes' moral virtue, but because he came to admire Bellerophontes' strength and bravery (see on ἐΰς, above, p. 15, n. 3).

Finally, we can hardly say that ἀμύμων is used loosely throughout to indicate that Bellerophontes is inherently upright in behavior and morals, since the end of the story, puzzling as it is, at least conveys that Bellerophontes eventually did something deserving of some kind of blame, for the remark about becoming hated by the gods is a strong expression, and his later misfortunes are clearly the result of some folly or crime. The loop-hole that Bellerophontes might have been upright at first and later committed some wrong is

closed by the fact that Diomedes calls him ἀμύμων even after the end of the story has revealed that Bellerophontes is culpable of something, even though the exact nature of the crime (or crimes) is left veiled in decent obscurity.

In fine, the translation of ἀμύμων by "blameless," which might seem suitable at first, because the connotations of the English word are vaguer than those of the Homeric, becomes fraught with difficulties as soon as we examine the episode closely. But the problems raised by assuming that ἀμύμων refers to Bellerophontes' moral status vanish if we assume instead that it refers to some attribute of his that is independent both of his morals and of his vicissitudes. Since one such attribute, his physical constitution, is suggested by the line following his first description as ἀμύμων, and since this interpretation is consonant with a substantial number of other passages describing people as ἀμύμων, we need look no further.

CHAPTER TWO

ΜΩΜΟΣ; ΑΜΥΜΩΝ OF MENELAOS, PATROKLOS, POULYDAMAS

In the cases of Menelaos, Patroklos, and Poulydamas the contexts in which they are called ἀμύμων are so varied and rich in suggestion that it becomes imperative to see if we can determine exactly what kind of blame or reproach μῶμος connotes in Homer before we examine them, lest we become lost in unprofitable and unnecessary speculation. The noun μῶμος occurs only once in all Homer, in the Odyssey, and in a passage of a peculiar kind, but its meaning can nevertheless be ascertained with some accuracy.

Telemachos, at Athena's instigation, has called an assembly of Ithakans and complained of the suitors' intolerable behavior in his house, reminding them that violations of hospitality incur vengeance from men and gods so that they ought to curb their kinsmen [2.40-79]. One of the two chief suitors, Antinoos, finally rises to reply; he begins with taunts and exclaims that Telemachos is trying to disgrace (αἰσχύνων) and wishes to fasten (ἀνάψαι) μῶμος on them; he goes on to allege that they are not at fault (αἴτιοι; see below, p. 49, n. 1), but rather Penelope, who delays the wedding with clever devices (like the famous one of her web):

"Τηλέμαχ' ὑψαγόρη, μένος ἄσχετε, ποῖον ἔειπες
ἡμέας αἰσχύνων, ἐθέλοις δέ κε μῶμον ἀνάψαι.
σοὶ δ' οὔ τι μνηστῆρες 'Αχαιῶν αἴτιοί εἰσιν,
ἀλλὰ φίλη μήτηρ, ἥ τοι περὶ κέρδεα οἶδεν. [2.85-88]

In assessing the meaning of μῶμος here, it must be observed first that the word does not refer to the actual blame or reproach that Telemachos has uttered, but rather to the reaction among the Ithakans that Telemachos intended to arouse. This is made clear by the syntax: by the conative participle αἰσχύνων and by the potential optative ἐθέλοις κε, you would be willing. This hint that μῶμος does not ordinarily connote a charge or accusation uttered by a single individual, but involves criticism from a group is borne out, as we shall see below, in Homer by the verbs derived from μῶμος and by the use of μῶμος and related words in other Greek literature.

It might be concluded, then, that μῶμος means censure from a community for the kind of crime with which Telemachos charges the suitors, but against this view there are several considerations. For one thing, αἰσχύνων, which is used in close association with μῶμος, means literally "disfigure" physically, and is never (in Homer at least) used metaphorically in connection with a serious crime.[1] For another, in all Greek literature (see below), neither

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[1] The verb αἰσχύνω is used in connection with maltreating corpses, but in such a way that it clearly refers only to the physical damage done to the body, not to the offense of the act, nor to the odium incurred by those who do such a thing [XXII.75 and XXIV.418; cf. XVIII.24]. It is used metaphorically, meaning "disgrace," three times. Hippolochos tells his son Glaukos not to αἰσχυνέμεν the family of his fathers by cowardice [VI.209]. Menelaos claims that Antilochos has disgraced (ᾔσχυνας) his (Menelaos') valor by passing him the chariot race [XXIII.571] (cf. p. 38). Demodokos, in his song of Ares and Aphrodite, says that Ares dishonored (ᾔσχυνε) the bed of Hephaistos by making love to Aphrodite [8.269]. In the first instance, it is, of course, a serious matter in the heroic world to disgrace a tradition of bravery in one's family, but it is not a crime, and the second instance shows that a hero might feel disgraced by a trivial failure.

As for the third instance, we consider adultery a sinful crime (or pretend to do so), but there is no indication that it was so regarded in Homer, except when it involved an abuse of hospitality (see below, p. 31, n. 1). In the song of Demodokos, Ares was not Hephaistos' guest, so his only punishment is a fine, which Poseidon offers to pay for him [8.344-358], while Aphrodite goes scot-free (indeed she goes off to Paphos to be pampered by the Graces) [8.362-366]. Even if we make every allowance for the gods' notorious lack of moral earnestness, it is evident that the story did not offend the sensibilities of its audience [8.367-369], as much as it has done those of modern editors (see, e.g., Merry and Riddell, pp. 332-333, note on 8.267). In three other passages the middle of αἰσχύνω is used to mean "feel disgraced" by the prospect of something, and therefore to "hesitate" to do something. Odysseus tells Alkinoos that he did not accompany Nausikaa to town out of such a feeling (αἰσχυνόμενος [7.305] (see p. 120). The beggar Iros says he hesitates (αἰσχύνομαι) to shove Odysseus (in beggar's disguise) out of the doorway, though he clearly feels he has every right to do so [18.12].

The third instance is the decisive one for the passage in Antinoos' speech, because the suitors' reputation is again the issue. Eurymachos says that the suitors do not wish the beggar to try the bow because they feel disgraced at the talk (αἰσχυνόμενοι φάτιν) of men and women that would ensue if the beggar should succeed where they have failed [21.323]. Like Nausikaa, he quotes a sample of this talk (see p. 146), and says that such remarks would be an aspersion (ἐλέγχεα) on the suitors' valor —ὣς ἐρέουσ', ἡμῖν δ' ἂν ἐλέγχεα ταῦτα γένοιτο [21.329]. (Ἔλεγχος and its derivatives in Homer are almost exclusively connected with failures in valor). Penelope replies tartly, "Why do you consider this an aspersion"—τί δ' ἐλέγχεα ταῦτα τίθεσθε; [21.333], and gives two reasons why it would not be. One is that the beggar looks like a strong man (see p. 151), so that his success would be no reflection on the suitors; but her main point is that the suitors' reputation is already so besmirched due to their abuse of Odysseus' hospitality that the kind of talk

μῶμος nor the words derived from it are ever used to denote an accusation for an offense as serious as that of the suitors.

Thirdly, we must remember that it is Antinoos, a suitor, who is speaking, and the suitors' words ought never to be too credulously accepted at face value. If one considers the whole situation in the Odyssey, it is clear that Antinoos' reply would be a weak one, if μῶμος could refer to the serious censure from the Ithakans which Telemachos hoped to arouse against the suitors, for his reply would then be tantamount to admitting the gravamen of Telemachos' charge. But since μῶμος actually refers to comparatively trivial blame, as we shall see shortly, Antinoos is cleverly counteracting the effect of Telemachos' speech by implying that the suitors' behavior merits nothing worse than μῶμος. And, in fact, this is the kind of thing which we find the suitors doing throughout the Odyssey, although it has not been generally recognized. They consistently refuse to admit the real objection to their behavior, namely that it abuses Odysseus' hospitality, and therefore, by Homeric standards, constitutes a serious crime.[1] Instead, they pretend that they are merely wooing Penelope, and this is an action which does fit the connotations of μῶμος. For it is clear that no crime is involved in Penelope's remarriage after so long an absence

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which Eurymachos fears would be a small matter in comparison [21.331-332].

[1] Evidence that abuse of hospitality is one of the worst crimes in the Homeric canon is so abundant that it may seem unnecessary to stress it here. It is a curious fact, however, that those who are prepared to accept without a qualm the situation in the Iliad, where Alexandros' abuse of Menelaos hospitality provokes a ten year war and the destruction of all Troy, suddenly balk at the Odyssey and begin to mutter uncomfortably about primitive violence and the intractable nature of the old folk tale which forced Homer to include Odysseus' revenge, unpalatable though it was (to him, it is assumed, as well as to our modern taste). One reason for this inconsistency, often unrecognized, is that modern readers who have inherited the romantic traditions of western Europe regard adultery as a far worse kind of crime than over-eating in a host's house, so that they are not as morally repelled by Menelaos' revenge on Alexandros as they are by Odysseus' on the suitors. If one of the suitors had succeeded in seducing or raping Penelope, one suspects, there would be far less outcry about the savagery of Odysseus' punishment. But throughout the Iliad the facts that Alexandros was a guest of Menelaos and that he took a great many valuable objects as well as Helen herself are stressed as often and emphatically as the adultery (cf. below, p. 40, n. 1). Similarly, the suitors' are condemned in the Odyssey for their abuse of Odysseus' home in the strongest terms (see pp. 128-129). The absurdities that may be produced by a failure to grasp fully the Homeric attitude towards hospitality are well-illustrated in Levy's recent article, "The Odyssean Suitors and the Host-Guest Relationship."

on Odysseus' part, but equally clear that the suitors' courtship and her possible remarriage are producing talk in the community.[1] If there were any other indications that μῶμος could mean severe censure, then we should have to convict Antinoos here of a tacit admission of the suitors' guilt, but as it is, it is preferable to accept his speech as yet another stroke in Homer's portrait of the suitors as constant hypocrites.[2]

That μῶμος in Antinoos' speech means little more than "disapproval" and is not a fair equivalent of the censure which Telemachos had asked the Ithakans to pass on the suitors is made certain by the remarkable consistency of connotation shown by μῶμος and the words related to it throughout their history.

In Homer we find two verbs derived from μῶμος, used once each, which are different in form, but similar in meaning. In one passage, Helen refuses to obey Aphrodite when the goddess summons her to Alexandros' bedchamber (after the duel with Menelaos) on the

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[1] See, e.g., the interview between Penelope and the beggar, where she puts to him her dilemma whether to stay with Telemachos, thus respecting her husband's bed and public opinion—εὐνήν τ' αἰδομένη πόσιος δήμοιό τε φῆμιν [19.527 = 16.75, where Telemachos uses the phrase to Eumaios], or remarry before the suitors consume all his estate. Cf. the critical, but casual, remarks of the Ithakans when they think that Penelope has remarried [23.149-151].

[2] See, e.g., the end of Antinoos' reply to Telemachos [2.122-128]. Eurymachos also [2.195-207] shifts the blame to Penelope to obscure the real issue which Halitherses' prophecy has reiterated. Leokritos in replying to Mentor less skillfully resorts to the argument that might makes right [2.243-256]. Later Eurymachos lies blatantly to Penelope [16.435-447], and Antinoos perverts all the moral issues by assuming the role of host only to deny hospitality to the stranger [17.375-379]. Cf. also Penelope's statement that the suitors have used the pretext of courtship as a cover for their crimes [21.68-72].

If we take the suitors' words at face value as many scholars incautiously do, we misinterpret much of the poem, for a large part of their villainy lies in their habitual dishonesty. The strange habit of accepting the suitors at their own evaluation instead of viewing them, as we are obviously meant to do, through the eyes of the poet and of the other characters, has also contributed to the uneasiness of many over Odysseus' revenge (see above, p. 31, n. 1), for obviously whole-sale slaughter *is* a harsh penalty for the simple courtship which the suitors insist on. Again see Levy, p. 151, although in all fairness it must be said that he is only the most recent, not the worst offender on this score. But since even the two chief suitors finally are brought to admit their real guilt (see Chap. VII, p. 127, n. 1), it is scarcely asking too much of a scholar to do the same. For another example of the way in which the suitors pervert the normal meaning of a Homeric word, as Antinoos does μῶμος, see on δειλός below (p. 43 n. 1).

grounds that "it would cause disapproval"—νεμεσσητὸν δέ κεν εἴη [III.410],[1] claiming: "all the Trojan women will criticize (μωμήσονται) me afterwards"—Τρωιαὶ δὲ μ' ὀπίσσω / πᾶσαι μωμήσονται [III.411-412]. Now Helen and Alexandros have committed an offense as serious as that of the suitors (not their adultery *per se*, but their abuse of Menelaos' hospitality; see p. 31, n. 1 and p. 40, n. 1) but it is obvious that in this particular instance Helen is referring only to the fact that it will cause gossip if she is seen going to his bedchamber at midday (especially just after he has disgracefully fled, as it seems, from the battlefield); and in fact Aphrodite takes care that Helen goes unseen by the Trojan women [III.420].

The second instance is in the Odyssey. Nausikaa, having clothed and fed Odysseus, is preparing to return to town, and she tells Odysseus to accompany her and her maids only part of the way and then follow behind. The reason is that their route takes them past the harbor, where the sailors sit mending their tackle, and past the agora. And Nausikaa wants to "avoid the unseemly talk (φῆμιν) of these (people), so that no one will gossip (μωμεύῃ) afterwards"—τῶν ἀλεείνω φῆμιν ἀδευκέα, μή τις ὀπίσσω / μωμεύῃ [6.273-274]. She imagines the things they would say, which run as follows: where did Nausikaa pick up this tall, handsome stranger? maybe some god has appeared as an answer to her prayers and she'll marry him, since she scorns her Phaiakian suitors [6.276-284]. She adds that she herself would disapprove (νεμεσῶ) of another girl who appeared in public with men before her marriage [6.286-287].[2]

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[1] The related words νέμεσις, νεμεσσητός, νεμεσῶ, νεμεσσάω, νεμεσίζομαι, are ambiguous in their connotations, for they are occasionally used of serious indignation, but also often of minor breaches of convention, as in Nausikaa's comment which is cited on p. 17. Hera uses the same phrase as Helen when Zeus suggests making love on Mount Ida; she does not use any word connected with μῶμος, but conveys the notion of gossip in another way, by saying that if one of the gods should see them sleeping, he would go around pointing them out to all the gods—θεοῖσι δὲ πᾶσι μετελθὼν / πεφράδοι [XIV.334-335]. On νέμεσις, etc. see further Lattimore, *Story Patterns*, pp. 24-25, and 85-87, nn. 43-51.

[2] For νεμεσῶ see above, n. 1. Nausikaa also says that the remarks of the Phaiakians would be a reproach to her (ὀνείδεα)—ὥς ἐρέουσιν, ἐμοὶ δέ κ' ὀνείδεα ταῦτα γένοιτο [6.285] (cf. the almost identical remark made by Eurymachos and quoted above in n. 1, p. 30). This may seem to contradict my contention (p. 29) that μῶμος does not have the same kinds of connotation as "reproach," but actually Nausikaa is here guilty of exaggeration, for quite transparent reasons. Her father's speech to Odysseus later shows that she

The remarks which she attributes to the Phaiakian sailors and

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could in fact have let Odysseus accompany her without serious impropriety (see p. 121), so that her speech here is presumably occasioned less by real necessity than by a desire to express her admiration of Odysseus and to let him know indirectly that she is highly eligible, in case he is interested in matrimony (perhaps also by a feeling of shyness).

Even if this degree of subtlety in motivation is rejected as being too sophisticated for Homer, it is still demonstrable that Nausikaa's use of ὀνείδεα is highly anomalous. We find in Homer the noun ὄνειδος (eight times in the Iliad, three in the Odyssey); the adjective ὀνείδειος (eight times in the Iliad, once in the Odyssey). Never, except here, is any of the three words connected with μῶμος, nor with any situation which might plausibly be said to produce μῶμος. The reproaches referred to by these words are ordinarily uttered by a single person, moreover, and the actions which incur them are more reprehensible than those which incur μῶμος, for in almost all instances (except Nausikaa's speech) some violation of the heroic code is involved. For example, accusations of cowardice are often denoted by ὄνειδος etc. [VII.95, IX.34, XVI.628, XX.246, XXI.471 and 480] (for XX.246, where Aineias is referring to Achilleus' previous taunt that Aineias had fled at their last encounter, see p. 19). Similarly, failure to defend a comrade's corpse constitutes an ὄνειδος [XVI.498 and XVII.556]. Helen's conjecture that her brothers did not come to Troy because of the many ὀνείδεα she is subject to [III.242] refers, unlike the passage where she fears the gossip of the Trojan women (see p. 33), to the reproaches which she and Alexandros have incurred by their crime against Menelaos (see below, p. 40, n. 1).

Other connections between ὄνειδος and infractions of hospitality are seen in the Odyssey [17.461 and 22.463]. Achilleus' accusations that Agamemnon is greedy, cowardly, and unworthy to be a commander are called reproaches [I.211 and 291], and so are Thersites' [II.222, 251, and 255] which stress Agamemnon's greed more than Achilleus does (cf. the accusations of greed levelled against the beggar [18. 326 and 380]). Zeus once refers to Hera's words as ὀνειδείος [I.519], but does not specify which of her many reproaches he is thinking of; for a similar slightly anomalous use see Ares' angry speech to Athena [XXI.393], and cf. Chap. VII, p. 141, n. 2. Once Andromache imagines the orphaned Astyanax being driven out of a banquet with blow and ὀνειδείοισι (sc. words) [XXII.497]; this instance, like Zeus' reference to Hera, is anomalous in that the reproaches are implicitly undeserved, wheras ὄνειδος and its derivatives normally refer to deserved reproofs (contrast on μῶμος, p. 37). All three passages, however, agree with the others in referring to words spoken angrily, whereas μῶμος and Nausikaa's ὀνείδεα are uttered without animus, sometimes even with good humor.

Perhaps the most interesting passage is that containing the suspected lines in which Phoinix says that he was deterred from killing his father by a reminder that parricide incurs "many reproaches from men"—ὀνείδεα πόλλ' ἀνθρώπων [IX.460]. These lines are omitted by some editors because they are not found in the mss., but are quoted by Plutarch, who tells us that Aristarchus removed them because he was shocked (φοβηθείς). They are, however, generally agreed to be "Homeric" in thought and expression (see Leaf, *Iliad, ad loc.*); they should, in my opinion, be accepted as genuine (cf. Calhoun, "Repetitions," pp. 22-24 for a succint, sensible, and undeservedly neglected statement on the necessity to "modify the presupposition upon which the textual criticism of Homer has hitherto rested" in the light of

townspeople are a concrete example of what Homer means by μῶμος, and they show clearly that μῶμος refers to comparatively mild public criticism, and that the actions which evoke it are not criminal ones. In contrast, the suitors' behavior is criminal and it is condemned throughout the Odyssey in the strongest language (see below, pp. 128-129).

Thus, although the evidence in Homer for the meaning of μῶμος is scanty, what exists is clear and consistent. Moreover, the testimony of later Greek authors shows that μῶμος and the words derived from it always remained attached to minor matters, for although μῶμος developed a number of connotations which are not visible in the Homeric passages, it was never applied to a serious offense or crime.

The use of μῶμος and related words in Greek literature outside of Homer is surveyed in detail in Appendix IV, Lists 1 and 2. All we need to do here is note the main outlines to confirm that has been said above and to provide a touchstone for the hypothesis that ἀμύμων means "blameless," for if it is derived from μῶμος, it ought to mean free from, or undeserving of, one of the kinds of blame connoted by μῶμος in Greek (see further, pp. 89-80). The exact references for the author's names cited in parenthesis in the following paragraphs will be found in Appendix IV.

It is likely that μῶμος originally meant a physical flaw or blemish, on the assumption that a concrete meaning probably preceded an abstract one. As it happens, this denotation does not appear plainly until very late (Artemidorus, second century A.D.), but it is implicit in a number of early passages (Semonides, Simonides,

Parry's work). However that may be, in Phoinix' speech the use of ὄνειδος is unusual in that, like μῶμος, and unlike most of the other instances of ὄνειδος, the reproaches are communal ones, but Helen's speech [III.242] provides a close parallel for this. The crucial point is that ὄνειδος manifestly differs from μῶμος in denoting censure for a serious offense.

To return to the Nausikaa passage, we cannot dismiss the anomaly of the association between ὄνειδος and μῶμος as a result of a careless use of formula because then there is no way of explaining why in this line Homer substituted ὀνείδεα for the ἐλέγχεα of Eurymachos' speech. Obviously he did so because he was aware of the fact that ἔλεγχος and its derivatives are restricted to the sphere of valor (see above, p. 30, n. 1), while ὄνειδος etc. connote more various kinds of reproaches, but if he was aware of this distinction, he must also have been aware of the distinctions between μῶμος and ὄνειδος, and he must, therefore, have Nausikaa unconventionally make them roughly synonymous for some other reason. Those who reject the reason offered above must supply their own.

Theognis, etc.). Often too, the verbs used with μῶμος even in an abstract sense suggest that it was originally thought of as a physical mark or brand; this is true as early as Homer, as we have seen (above, p. 29), in the two verbs used by Antinoos with μῶμος, and is still true in later authors (Semonides, Theognis, Pindar, Sophocles and Timotheus). It is obvious, however, that μῶμος was very early extended to mean any kind of flaw or fault (cf. Simonides, Bacchylides and Aeschylus), and thence to the process of seeing or pointing out such faults, that is to "disapproval," "blame," or "criticism," since we find this development already in the Odyssean passage.

Two other developments in the meaning of μῶμος must have occurred early, for we find them in Hesiod, although not in Homer. One is the personification of Μῶμος as a god. Hesiod gives no clear indication of his nature, but we can see from later authors (Plato, Callimachus, the Palatine and Planudean Anthologies, Babrius, and Lucian) that he was thought of as the spirit of petty niggling, carping, or criticism, springing from a censorious and unpleasant disposition. The other development is that μῶμος, and especially the verbs derived from it, are used as general antonyms for "praise" (Hesiod, Alcman, Semonides, Theognis, Pindar, Longinus, Lucian, Heliodorus).

The sorts of things which are the subject of μῶμος range from physical attributes (Alcman, Aeschylus, Lucian), through family and birth (Lycophron and Artemidorus), to good luck (Semonides). The kinds of actions which can incur μῶμος are extremely various but not criminal or even seriously reprehensible. They include: anything which a bad wife might do (Semonides), success, such as victory in the games (Pindar); believing in false rumors (Aeschylus); leaving with undue haste (Sophocles); the way birds fly around with their mouths open (Aristophanes); talking too much (Lucian); archery (Callimachus); writing untraditional poetry (Timotheus); writing short poems (Callimachus); writing bad history (Lucian); failing in any way in literature (Longinus); making a flawed object of any kind (Theocritus, Lucian, Dionysius, Periegetes). Only one word derived from μῶμος is ever used in connection with violence; that is ἐπιμώμητος, which is used only twice (by Hesiod and Theocritus) and in passages which do not offer any analogy for the application of μῶμος to the suitors' crimes or indeed to any other serious offense.

It will be noted that on the list of things which evoke μῶμος, there are several that do not really deserve blame or criticism of any kind. The implication that μῶμος is unjustified criticism appears, in various degrees, quite often (Semonides, Simonides, Theognis, Pindar, Timotheus, Plato, Palatine Anthology, Planudean Anthology, Babrius). It is impossible to tell how early this connotation developed, but it is certainly a possible one in the Odyssey. Antinoos would then not only minimize the seriousness of Telemachos' charge, but imply that Telemachos was being hypersensitive and unduly critical, for even if he succeeded in fastening μῶμος upon the suitors, the μῶμος might not be entirely deserved.

Similarly, μῶμος is connected, implicitly or explicitly, with φθόνος, envy, in a number of passages (Pindar, Callimachus, Planudean Anthology, Plutarch, Lucian, Babrius, and the epitaph of Herodotus from Thurii).[1] These passages confirm what we have said above, that μῶμος often springs from the ill-nature of the criticizer rather than from the nature of the act which calls it forth, and that μῶμος often, therefore, is used to mean petty or undeserved criticism. In short, μῶμος is often the verbal expression of a feeling of envy or ill-will.

Φθόνος in Greek thought is not so much a private emotion (as envy is in English) but ordinarily refers to a general public reaction, to the attitude of a community towards an individual. This bears out what we found to be true in Homer, that μῶμος does not refer to a charge or accusation by a single individual but is closely associated with general talk or gossip. It is true that in later literature

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[1] The epitaph of Herodotus is quoted by Stephanus of Byzantium. It indicates that he was buried in Thurium, although he came of Dorian stock, "for he escaped from the great μῶμος of these (i.e. of his original countrymen) and made Thurium his home": τῶν γὰρ ἄπλητον / μῶμον ὑπεκπροφυγὼν Θούριον ἔσχε πάτρην. No details of why he incurred μῶμος are available to us, but in Suidas we read that when Herodotus had helped his fellow citizens in Halicarnassus expel the tyrant Lygdamis, he went as a volunteer colonist to Thurium when it was founded by the Athenians, "because he saw afterwards (i.e. after the expulsion of Lygdamis) that he was disliked (φθονούμενον) by his fellow citizens": ἐπειδὴ εἶδεν ἑαυτὸν φθονούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν. Another association between φθόνος and μῶμος is found in the collection of Γνῶμαι that has come down under the name of Phocylides (perhaps first century A.D.). One of the pieces of advice offered in this work is not to succumb to envy and fault-finding, and the phraseology offers a parallel to Antinoos' (see p. 29) because the verb used with μῶμος is again ἀνάπτω: μὴ φθονέοις ἀγαθῶν ἑτάροις, μὴ μῶμον ἀνάψῃς [Bergk, p. 91, v. 70]. Bergk comments: "φθόνος *enim et* μῶμος *germani fratres, arctissima necessitudine coniuncti.*"

the verbs derived from μῶμος are occasionally used in the singular to refer to some criticism uttered by an individual (Semonides, Simonides, Theognis, Aristophanes, Theocritus, and Callimachus), but in these passages the criticisms are ordinarily of the same kind as those which might be current in a group of people, and the verbs in them mean either "find fault with" or "blame" (as opposed to "praise"). Thus none of them provides a parallel for taking μῶμος to mean a specific charge or accusation such as those brought by Anteia against Bellerophontes or by Telemachos against the suitors.

In short, μῶμος and its derivatives remain throughout their history from Homer into the Christian era in a sphere of connotation which is unusually consistent and clearly demarcated. These connotations can often be expressed in English by phrases using both "blame" and "fault," but certain differences should be observed. For example, there is no indication in Greek that μῶμος and its derivatives were ever used to assign responsibility for an action; in English one can say "he is to blame" or "he is at fault," but in Homer αἴτιος, not an adjective from μῶμος, is used to express this idea (see below, pp. 49-50, and p. 49, n. 1). Similarly, although "reproach" and "reprove, reproof" are roughly synonymous with "blame" (both verb and noun) in some situations in English, this is not true in Homeric Greek (cf. above, p. 33, n. 2 on ὄνειδος).

In view of the consistency and clarity of the meanings of μῶμος and the words derived from it, we should be careful, when we translate ἀμύμων as "blameless" on the assumption that it is etymologically connected with μῶμος, that we have in mind one of the meanings of that word in Greek, and not one that belongs only to the English "blame." Now it happens that in Homer μῶμος and its two verbs are very severely restricted to community gossip about the relations between men and women. This may well be an accident of our scanty evidence, so that it is perhaps permissible to assume that in Homer's time, or before, μῶμος might have had any of the meanings which appear in later Greek, even though Homer did not chance to use it thus. But it is surely *not* permissible to explain ἀμύμων by using a meaning which is inherent in the English "blame" (and its equivalents in other modern languages), but for which there is no evidence in the usage of μῶμος and the words connected with it, as far as we can tell from extant Greek literature.

If ἀμύμων means "undeserving of μῶμος," we should expect to

find it used in contexts which involve the kinds of actions that apparently give rise to μῶμος. Instead, of the twenty-six instances so far examined, ἀμύμων is used primarily in military and genealogical contexts. The only possible exception is that of Andromache, who might be called an ἀμύμων wife (see above, p. 13) to indicate that she never engaged in any μῶμος-producing action. But if so, what are we to do with the mother of Satnios, the ἀμύμων naiad nymph (see above, p. 12), who is clearly no better than she should be? The case of Bellerophontes is equally unsatisfactory. In the whole episode only the incident of Anteia involves an action at all likely to produce μῶμος, but even here there are two objections. First, general talk is not a factor, since Anteia's accusation precludes any public misbehavior, or she would not have had to inform her husband of what had allegedly taken place. Second, Bellerophontes' seduction of her, had it actually occurred, would have involved a much serious offense, abuse of Proitos' hospitality, than the kinds of actions which are indicated as giving rise to μῶμος in Homer (see above, p. 31, n. 1).

We are now in a position to determine whether the connotations of μῶμος are relevant to any of the contexts in which Menelaos, Patroklos, and Poulydamas are called ἀμύμων. Menelaos is said to be ἀμύμων only once, in one of the episodes that compose the extended catalogue of battle vignettes in the middle of the Iliad (see Chap. I, p. 15, n. 1). After describing how Menelaos kills and exults over Peisandros, the poet says, "Thus having spoken, ἀμύμων Menelaos stripped the bloody armor from the corpse (literally from the skin),[1] and gave it to his comrades":

ὣς εἰπὼν τὰ μὲν ἔντε' ἀπὸ χροὸς αἱματόεντα
συλήσας ἑτάροισι δίδου Μενέλαος ἀμύμων. [XIII.640-641]

When ἀμύμων is translated "blameless" in this passage (as by Lattimore),[2] it sounds as though the epithet were meant to contrast Menelaos with the guilty Trojans, for in the preceding speech of

[1] See Snell, *Discovery*, pp. 5-6 for the careful distinctions in Homer between χρώς and other words for the body. If Homer could maintain these distinctions in the case of concrete words, all of which occur in formulaic phrases, there is no reason why he could not have done the same for epithets.

[2] Lattimore, *Iliad* p. 288. Hereafter, citations from this translation will be indicated merely by "(Lattimore)" after the quotation, since book and line references are easily found in this version.

exultation over Peisandros, Menelaos has given vent to his rage against the Trojans, accusing them of not fearing the terrible wrath of Zeus Xenios [XIII.621-639]. If μῶμος meant any kind of blame or reproach, we might say that such a contrast was indeed intended, but the connotations of μῶμος, that is, "gossip" do not fit the situation. Menelaos' speech, being the utterance of a single person would not be called μῶμος, and the language in it, as well in the condemnations of Alexandros and Helen elsewhere in the Iliad, is much stronger than anything that μῶμος would seem to imply.[1] Moreover, the other epithets used of Menelaos, both the recurring ones and the ones which, like ἀμύμων, are applied to him only once or twice, all refer to his martial qualities or his appearance, never to his moral position with regard to the crime which engendered the expedition against Troy.[2] All in all, it seems best to consider this use

[1] Menelaos calls the Trojans: ὑπερφίαλοι, δεινῆς ἀκόρητοι αὐτῆς [XIII.621], κακαὶ κύνες [623], and ἄνδρεσσι...ὑβριστῆισι [633];he refers to their crime as λώβης τε καὶ αἴσχεος [622]; and claims, rightly, that Zeus will destroy their city for Alexandros' crime [624-626]. See also: Menelaos' expectation of revenge for the offense (ἀλείτην) of Alexandros [III.28]; Hektor's bitter rebuke to Paris [III.39ff.], especially the reference to him as a μέγα πῆμα [III.50]; Helen's speech about her brothers, conjecturing that they did not come to Troy αἴσχεα δειδιότες, καὶ ὀνείδεα πόλλ' ἅ μοί ἐστιν [III.242]; Menelaos' prayer to get revenge on Paris, so that others will fear ξεινοδόκον κακὰ ῥέξαι [III.351ff.]; Menelaos' anger that he did not succeed in taking revenge for Paris' κακότητος [III.366]; Hektor's speeches in which he wishes Paris were dead [III.40, VI.281ff.] (cf. Helen's wish for Paris death [III.428-429]); Helen's speech of self-disgust [VI.344ff.], especially the reference to Paris' ἄτη [356] and their κακὸν μόρον [357]; Hektor's reference to the αἴσχεα he hears from the Trojans about Paris [VI.524]; the Trojan herald's wish that Paris had died before taking Helen [VII.390]; Achilleus' implication that Paris' action justified the Achaian expedition [IX.337ff.]; the information that Paris had to bribe the Trojans to oppose Helen's return [XI.123-125]; Achilleus' description of Helen as ῥιγεδανῆς [XIX.325]; the poet's reference to the adultery of Paris and Helen as μαχλοσύνην ἀλεγεινήν [XXIV.30]; Helen's lament over Hektor's body describing the Trojans' harshness towards her, especially πάντες δέ με πεφρίκασιν [XXIV.775].

[2] Menelaos' recurring epithets are: ἀρήϊος (eight times), 'Αρηΐφιλος (twenty times), βοὴν ἀγαθός (thirty-one times), διοτρεφής (seventeen times), δουρικλειτός (seven times), κυδάλιμος (fourteen times), ξανθός (twenty-eight times), and ὄρχαμε λαῶν (six times). He is called twice each: ἀγακλεής [XVII.716, XXIII.529], ἀντίθεος (see App. II. 3 B. 3a and b) and ἰσόθεος φώς (see App. II, 1 A. 5a and 6). He is called once each, besides ἀμύμων: ἀγοθός in the frequent sense "brave") [IV.181], and ἴφθιμος (see App. II, 6 A. 8). Of these, the ones cited in Appendix II are used also of others who are called ἀμύμων.

The epithet κυδάλιμος deserves comment, partly because it is often mistranslated, and partly because it is twice used of Menelaos in the same

of ἀμύμων as an incidental one, typical of its use in other battle vignettes where no moral issues are involved; compare, for example, the instance of Laodokos (see above, p. 12), in which the tone is similar, although ἀμύμων happens to be applied to the comrade who receives the armor rather than to the warrior who gives it (cf. also Appendix II, List 8, A. 5 h).

Patroklos is called ἀμύμων three times. First, Euphorbos, who had wounded Patroklos before Hektor attacked him, and who has been watching for a chance to strip the armor from the body, when he notes that "ἀμύμων Patroklos was fallen, stood near him (i.e. near the corpse)":

Πατρόκλοιο πεσόντος ἀμύμονος· ἄγχι δ' ἄρ' αὐτοῦ
ἔστη. [XVII.10-11]

Later the poet remarks that Thrasymedes and Antilochos had not yet heard that "ἀμύμων Patroklos was dead, but thought that he was still living":

Πατρόκλοιο θανόντος ἀμύμονος, ἀλλ' ἔτ' ἔφαντο
ζωόν. [XVII.379-380]

Finally, in the description of Patroklos' funeral, Achilleus holds the head of Patroklos as the Myrmidons carry the corpse to the pyre, "grieving, for he was sending his ἀμύμων comrade to Hades":

ἀχνύμενος· ἕταρον γὰρ ἀμύμονα πέμπ' Ἀϊδόσδε. [XXIII.137]

It is plain that none of the connotations of μῶμος will suit these passages, but the translation of ἀμύμων by "blameless" may seem less inappropriate than usual, because the personality of Patroklos is exceptionally sympathetic. Moreover, since ἀμύμων is not used of him until he is dead, the translation "blameless" subtly reinforces a feeling many readers have that his death, one of the most touching in the Iliad, is undeserved. But this translation is not really justified by these impressions. The personality of Patroklos is depicted in the Iliad through his actions (for instance, his sympathetic words to and

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episode in which he is called ἀμύμων [XIII.601-606]. It is usually taken to mean "famous," but it means rather "proud" (of the things that bring fame); for κῦδος is the subjective aspect of κλέος; that is, it is the feeling of pride attendant on victory, beauty, good parentage, wealth, etc., not the external glory or fame which results from these. See, e.g. IV.145 and XXIII.400 and cf. the participle κυδιόων in VI.509 = XV.266, and XXI.519. If ἀμύμων is meant to present Menelaos in the role of victim in this episode, then κυδάλιμος is an inappropriate companion for it, but if ἀμύμων is being used as it is in other catalogue passages, then the two epithets are consonant with each other.

treatment of the wounded Eurypylos [XI.816-848]), and through the use of such comparatively unusual adjectives as ἤπιος, gentle,[1] and μείλιχος, kindly,[2] both of which are used only very rarely and in order to describe the inner nature of an individual personality, whereas ἀμύμων is manifestly a word that denotes a common attribute of warriors.

As for Patroklos' death, however undeserved it may be, the poet goes out of his way to blame Patroklos for courting his own destruction. Patroklos himself, of his own choice, though at Nestor's suggestion, asks Achilleus to let him go into battle in Achilleus' armor, "pleading in great folly," says the poet—λισσόμενος μέγα νήπιος [XVI.46]. At the climax of book XVI the poet again calls him νήπιος (foolish) and says that he was greatly blinded (μέγ' ἀάσθη), for if he had kept the command of Achilleus not to fight near the city but to return as soon as he had saved the Achaian ships, he would have escaped death [XVI.685ff.].[3] Patroklos' responsibility

[1] At the funeral games Achilleus announces that he will not compete—nor will his immortal horses, because they have lost such a charioteer (as Patroklos), who was ἤπιος and tended them lovingly: τοίου γὰρ κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀπώλεσαν ἡνιόχοιο, / ἠπίου, ὅς σφωϊν μάλα πολλάκις ὑγρὸν ἔλαιον / χαιτάων κατέχευε, λοέσσας ὕδατι λευκῶι [XXIII.280-282]. This passage should be compared with the more conventional one about horses missing their dead ἀμύμονες charioteers (see p. 95) to see how unusual in tone the one about Patroklos is. In Homer ἤπιος, which occurs ten times in the Iliad and fifteen in the Odyssey, is regularly in the predicate and generally retains some overtone of its original meaning of being like a parent who tends his child with love and gentleness both bodily and otherwise. This is particularly clear in the formula πατὴρ ὣς ἤπιος αἰεί (ἦεν) [XXIV.770; 2.47, 234; 5.12; 15.152].

[2] Patroklos is twice said to be μείλιχος; once by Menelaos in a short speech summoning the Aiantes to help him defend Patroklos' corpse: νῦν τις ἐνηείης Πατροκλῆος δειλοῖο / μνησάσθω· πᾶσιν γὰρ ἐπίστατο μείλιχος εἶναι / ζωὸς ἐών [XVII.670-672]; and once by Briseis at the end of her lament over Patroklos' body: τῶ σ' ἄμοτον κλαίω τεθνηότα, μείλιχον αἰεί [XIX.300]. These are the only times in Homer that μείλιχος is used positively. An attributive adjective μειλίχιος occurs twenty-seven times in Homer, always of speeches, properly of those designed to prevail on someone who is averse, but occasionally with a developed meaning of "kind, friendly." The use of μείλιχος in the predicate and about a person would seem to derive from this late meaning, since "gentle" is more appropriate than "trying to make gentle," or it may be simply that the kind of person who is likely to be swayed by μειλίχιος words can be called "gentle, kind."

[3] Modern readers are often troubled by the fact that Patroklos' death (like those of Sarpedon, of Hektor, and of Achilleus himself) is said to be fated or caused by Zeus [XVI.250-252, XVIII.9-11], but here, as always in Homer, in my opinion, fate and Zeus only ratify what is already inherent in character and situation, and usually fixed in the tradition as well. It is futile, however, to argue with convinced proponents of the view that in

for his own death does not, of course, make it any the less pathetic; rather the opposite, since it is precisely because of the gentleness which makes him admirable that he feels enough sorrow for the Achaians to go into battle to save them (see especially XVI.22-29, and 39). Again, however, it is not the use of ἀμύμων in some vague and not elsewhere attested meaning of "blameless" that conveys the pathos of his death. That is conveyed instead not only by the detailed account of its effect on Achilleus, but once more by an unusual, and therefore striking, use of a comparatively rare word, δειλός. This adjective is often rendered by "unhappy" (as by Lattimore), but it may be defined more precisely as meaning both subject to and causing sorrow because of death as the common lot of mortals, and Patroklos is the only character in either poem of whom it is used as an attributive epithet.[1]

That ἀμύμων is used of Patroklos in a normal way, and not to convey any unusual, inner quality or any special moral status is

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Greek literature men are only puppets of the gods. See Page, *Iliad*, pp. 300-303, for a characteristically lucid exposition of a wrong-headed view. If Homer himself, with all his careful illustrations of man's responsibility for his fate, with the deliberate construction which shows the human causes preceding what is ostensibly "fated," cannot persuade those who agree with Page, no one else is likely to succeed.

[1] In the Iliad δειλός is used twenty-three times, always with reference to death, except in two passages [I.293 and XXII.278] (for the latter of which see II, 8 C. 1), where the developed meaning "worthless coward" appears. It is used in the vocative seven times, always to those who are dying, dead, or soon to die, or to those who are suffering grief because of some one else's death (see e.g. XVIII.443); four times it is used with βροτοί, always with some specific mention of death or grief (in XXI.463-465 it is especially clear that δειλός involves death as a universal experience of mankind); three times a mourner uses it of herself (Thetis grieving for Achilleus [XVIII.54], Briseis for Patroklos [XIV.287], and Hekabe for Hektor [XXII.431]); twice it is used of those grieving for a dead relative, one of these in a simile illustrating Achilleus' grief [XXIII.223]; once of dead heroes causing grief to their comrades [V.574]. The formula Πατροκλῆος δειλοῖο is used four times [XVII. 670, XXIII.65, 105, and 221], the last three times with ψυχή in contexts which involve both Achilleus' grief for him and Patroklos' own suffering. The first passage is the beginning of Menelaos' speech already quoted above (p. 42, n. 2). In the Odyssey δειλός occurs sixteen times and is used much as in the Iliad, with a few exceptions: once the developed meaning "worthless coward" is extended even further to the pledges given by one [8.351]; four times the idea of sorrow is extended to include extreme suffering rather than actual death; three times the vocative is perverted, always by one of the suitors (see above, p. 32, n. 2), into a pejorative meaning, "wretch," with no reference to death and with none of the customary sympathetic overtones [18.389].

confirmed by the fact that he shares with other characters who are called ἀμύμων the descriptions ἰσόθεος φῶς [IX.211 and XI.644] (see Chap. I, p. 15, n. 2); ἐΰς [XVI. 653] (see Chap. I, p. 15, n. 3); and μεγάθυμος [XVI. 818] (see Chap. I, p. 21, n. 1).[1] In addition, the formula most frequently used of him is Μενοιτίου ἄλκιμος υἱός (the

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[1] Most of the other epithets applied to Patroklos are normal ones which make it clear that he was a conventional hero, however unusual in sweetness of personality. He is five times called διογενής, which is used also of Odysseus eight times, of Aias five, of Achilleus twice, of Eurypylos and Menelaos once each (not, as Page says, *Iliad*, p. 286, n. 90, "of four others only once each"); cf. διοτρεφής used of Menelaos (above, p. 40, n. 2). The adjective μεγαλήτωρ, roughly a synonym of μεγάθυμος, is used of Patroklos twice, of Aias, Anchises, Aineias, and Priam three times each, of Odysseus, the lesser Aias, Stentor, and Oineus once each, as well as once or twice of four minor figures and of four nations.

Patroklos is called ἥρως four times; this word occurs seventy-four times in the Iliad of both major figures like Agamemnon (six times) and minor ones, like Alkathoos (once). It is used also, to mention only those who are also called ἀμύμων or described by one of the formulas in Appendix II: of Achilleus, twice; of Laomedon, Menelaos, Odysseus, and Teukros, once each (all ἀμύμων); of Agastrophos, once (ἴφθιμος); of Aineias, twice (ἐΰς, ἴφθιμος, and μεγάθυμος); of Alexandros and Deiphobos, once each (both θεοειδής); of Automedon, twice (ἄλκιμος); Diomedes, twice (μεγάθυμος and ἄλκιμος); of Idomeneus, twice (δαΐφρων); of Meriones, three times (ἰσόθεος φώς and ἐΰς); of Peneleos, once (δαΐφρων); of Sthenelos, once (ἴφθιμος); also of the Danaans, five times (ἴφθιμος); and of the Achaians, eight times (μεγάθυμος). Patroklos is once called Διΐ φίλος; the same phrase is used of Achilleus (five times), of Hektor (four times), and of Apollo, Odysseus, Phoinix, Phyleus, and heralds (once each).

The phrase θεόφιν μήστωρ ἀτάλαντος, may mean "a counsellor equal to the gods" when used of Priam [VII.366] and even perhaps of Peirithoos, in a list of Zeus' mortal sons [XIV.318], but it is used once of Patroklos when Automedon is referring to his mastery as a charioteer [XVII.477], so that μήστωρ of Patroklos means "master" as in the phrases with ἀϋτῆς which is also used of Patroklos (together with Hektor) [XVI.759], as well as of the Athenians and of Meriones together with Antilochos (once each). Μήστωρ has the same meaning with φόβοιο, rout, a phrase which is used of Patroklos [XXIII.16], as well as of Diomedes and of Trojan horses (twice each). This interpretation of μήστωρ is consonant also with Patroklos' two unique epithets, ἱππεῦ (four times) and ἱπποκέλευθε (three times), which were no doubt traditional of Patroklos who probably played the role of Achilleus' charioteer in many songs about the Trojan war, though I cannot see any reason for Page's assertion, *Iliad*, p. 254, that "the formular descriptions of Patroklos give him a strong claim to the status of Mycenean" (cf. p. 289, n. 90 on ἐνηής). Scheliha argues, even more unconvincingly, that Patroklos was an invention of Homer's; see especially pp. 235-250, and, on his epithets, p. 248. Surely the most that can be said either way is that the character of Patroklos entered the tradition before our Iliad was composed, but there is no means of determining whether he did so fifty years before or five hundred; cf. Hoekstra's carefully hedged remarks, p. 139.

ἄλκιμος son of Menoitios), which is analogous to phrases in which ἀμύμων, ἐΰς, and ἴφθιμος are used with "son," although ἄλκιμος itself shows some significant differences in usage from the other adjectives in Appendix II.[1]

There is, however, one special consideration in Patroklos' case which deserves mention. Patroklos is not only the companion of, but a surrogate for, Achilleus in the Iliad; he goes to battle in Achilleus' place, wearing Achilleus' armor, and his death is symbolically the death of Achilleus.[2] It may be only coincidence that he

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[1] For the phrases in which ἀμύμων, ἐΰς, and ἴφθιμος are used with "son," see Appendix I, List 7 A.; Appendix II, List 2, A. 3 and 9; Appendix II, List 6, 1. 10. The adjective ἄλκιμος of course means possessed of ἀλκή, defensive strength, that is, "strong" physically, as well as "ready to defend" in spirit; cf. Chap. III, p.67, n. 1. Since the central defensive action of the Iliad is the protection of the ships from fire, it is appropriate that the two heroes most noticeably called ἄλκιμος are Aias, who fends off Hektor until Patroklos comes into battle, and Patroklos himself, who permanently removes the danger. The application of ἄλκιμος to these two is noticeable because Aias is the only hero in either poem called ἄλκιμος directly and the adjective is used of him twice within fifteen lines; as for Patroklos, he is called the ἄλκιμος son of Menoitios twelve times, as against three other scattered and casual uses of the same formula (with the necessary changes in the fathers' names).

Far from being "potentially applicable to a considerable variety of things and persons," as Page claims, *Iliad*, p. 269, n. 3, ἄλκιμος is properly restricted either to those situations, (whether in battle or in defense of one's home), in which ἀλκή is needed, or to those persons who are especially famous for their defensive valor (although it must be borne in mind that occasionally offense is the best defense). Similarly, the only things which are called ἄλκιμος in Homer are spears (usually ἔγχος, once δούρη), the physical weapons of defense, and the heart (ἦτορ), the psychological readiness to fight. Thus ἄλκιμος is somewhere between the normal Homeric epithet, like ἀντίθεος, for example, which commonly denotes a quality possessed by many people, and possessed steadily, and the much rarer adjectives, like ἤπιος, μείλιχος, and δειλός (see p. 42, nn. 1 and 2 and p. 43, n. 1), which describe a special kind of person or a person in a special circumstance.

The differences between ἄλκιμος and epithets like ἀμύμων and the ones in Appendix II are reflected with especial clarity in the passages where ἄλκιμος is used indefinitely or predicatively, which it is proportionately much more often than the others. For example, the passage in which Hektor addresses Alexandros as ἄλκιμος reveals that one could have the equipment to be ἄλκιμος without in fact being so to one's full capacity because of psychological factors, a possibility which is never indicated in words like ἀμύμων or ἀντίθεος. On the other hand, the connection between being ἄλκιμος and being strong, handsome, or otherwise physically well-endowed are evident from the passages in which Antilochos and Telemachos are addressed as ἄλκιμος. For a complete list of occurrences, see Appendix II, List 8.

[2] For a discussion of most of the passages in which the identification between Achilleus and Patroklos is expressed in the Iliad, see Whitman, pp. 200-203. Cf. Scheliha, p. 261ff.

is not called ἀμύμων until he is dead, but the association is emphasized by the fact that the three phrases in which the epithet is used of Patroklos are all directly connected with his death, the first two referring to the moment when he dies and the third to his funeral. Moreover, the first two phrases would have an especial impact on an audience fully familiar with the normal uses of ἀμύμων, because they are unusual in themselves, though similar to each other, for they are the only instances in Homer where ἀμύμων is used in a participial phrase.[1]

I do not mean to suggest by these observations that ἀμύμων has an unusual *meaning* when used of Patroklos; as we saw in the previous paragraph, he has as much right to be called "handsome" as, for instance, Gorgythion (see above, p. 21), who is called both ἀμύμων and ἐΰς just as Patroklos is; or as Menelaos (above, pp. 39-40), who, like Patroklos, is called both ἀμύμων and ἰσόθεος φώς. It is possible, however, that ἀμύμων is used of Patroklos primarily in reflection of its application to Achilleus, of whom the epithet is most often and most fittingly used, and with some of the same marked overtones of bravery and pathos which it has in the case of Achilleus (see below, pp. 64-70).

Poulydamas, son of Panthoos, is called ἀμύμων four times, more often than any single character in the Iliad except for Achilleus. In addition he is once called ἀμώμητος, an adjective which never occurs elsewhere in Homer, but which is manifestly derived from μῶμος (see below, pp. 71-73). Poulydamas' chief function is to give advice to Hektor, which is occasionally accepted (as in XII.60-83), but more often rejected angrily (as in XII.211ff. and XVIII.254ff.), although, as the poet tells us explicitly on at least one of these occasions [XVIII.311-313], Poulydamas is right and Hektor wrong. Here then we have another character who, like Bellerophontes, is unjustly or falsely blamed, so that the standard translation of ἀμύμων seems to have some point. But again as in the case of Bellerophontes, as soon as one examines the text at all closely, various difficulties arise.

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[1] The two participial phrases are particularly noticeable because they occur within relatively brief compass. They are further striking in that, though ἀμύμων itself is in its normal position (see Chap. V, p. 102, n. 2), both participles are unusually placed, since both normally occur at the end of a line: in Homer πεσόντος occurs only three other places in this position, θανόντος only once (some mss. have πεσόντος in both XVII.10 and XVII.379).

These are the passages in which Poulydamas is called ἀμύμων and ἀμώμητος. At the beginning of the great battle which lasts from book XI well into XVIII, the poet describes the two armies massing for combat; the Trojans gather "around huge (μέγας) Hektor and ἀμύμων Poulydamas":

Ἕκτορά τ' ἀμφὶ μέγαν καὶ ἀμύμονα Πουλυδάμαντα. [XI.57]

The catalogue continues with Aineias, "who was honored like a god in the land by the Trojans"—ὃς Τρωσὶ θεὸς ὣς τίετο δήμωι [XI.58]; with the three sons of Antenor, including splendid Agenor and godlike Akamas (see above, pp. 21-22).

Later in the battle, when the Trojans have driven forward as far as the Achaian ditch, Poulydamas suggests that they dismount from their chariots and attack in mass formation behind Hektor. This is the piece of advice mentioned above which Hektor accepts, and the poet gives a small catalogue of the most numerous and bravest chiefs, who were most eager to fight by the ships; "these went with Hektor and ἀμύμων Poulydamas":

οἱ μὲν ἅμ' Ἕκτορ' ἴσαν καὶ ἀμύμονι Πουλυδάμαντι. [XII.88]

The catalogue includes, besides others who are left without epithet, θεοειδής Deiphobos (see Chap. I, p. 20, n. 1); ἥρως Asios (see above, p. 44, n. 1); Aineias, the ἐΰς son of Anchises (see Chap. I, p. 15, n. 3); two sons of Antenor, Archelochos and Akamas, "both skilled in every sort of battle"—μάχης εὖ εἰδότε πάσης [XII.100] (cf. the similar phrase used of Pandaros, below, p. 54); and the ἀγακλειτοί Lykians (see below, p. 60, n. 1), among whom is ἀρήϊος Asteropaios (see above, p. 40, n. 2). It turns out, however, that Asios is unwilling to leave his horses behind, although the other Trojans and allies, "followed the advice of ἀμώμητος Poulydamas":

βουλῆι Πουλυδάμαντος ἀμωμήτοιο πίθοντο. [XII.109]

Still later in the battle, when the Trojans have reached the ships, but have become rather disorganized, Poulydamas suggests that Hektor rally them again. Once more Hektor agrees; the men who are close enough to hear Hektor's voice rally quickly around ἀγαπήνωρ, manly, Poulydamas [XIII.756] while Hektor goes off to collect the stragglers. Among these is Alexandros whom Hektor rebukes unjustly and rather hysterically [XIII.769-773], in an incident to which we shall return in a moment, but Alexandros readily follows Hektor back to where the fighting is thickest, "around Kebriones and ἀμύμων Poulydamas":

ἀμφί τε Κεβριόνην καὶ ἀμύμονα Πουλυδάμαντα. [XIII.790]

Six other Trojans are named in the little catalogue that follows, but the only other one with an epithet is ἀντίθεος Polyphetes [XIII.791] (see Chap. I, p. 18, n. 1).

Finally, just before the Achaians temporarily beat off the Trojan attack on the ships, Poulydamas ἐγχέσπαλος, the spear brandisher, comes up as an ἀμύντωρ, defender, [XIV.449] to protect the corpse of Satnios, son of Enops, whom the lesser Aias has slain (see above, p. 12). He kills a minor Greek, Prothoenor, and vaunts over him, describing himself as μεγάθυμος (see Appendix II, List 5, A. 17). This rouses Telamonian Aias, who hurls a spear at Poulydamas; Poulydamas dodges aside, but the spear kills Archelochos, the son of Antenor mentioned above (p. 47). "Then Aias shouts to ἀμύμων Poulydamas":

Αἴας δ' αὖτ' ἐγέγωνεν ἀμύμονι Πουλυδάμαντι. [XIV.469]

He points out that his victim is more than a fair exchange for the man whom Poulydamas has killed, since he is related to one of the chief men of Troy. Since Poulydamas here is indirectly responsible for the death of Archelochos, he is the just target of Aias' taunt, and it follows that if ἀμύμων means "blameless" in any sense, it is here used either carelessly or ironically.

As for the other passages, we can hardly say that ἀμύμων is used of Poulydamas to indicate that he is innocent of the unjust reproaches with which Hektor occasionally rebukes him, for far from being connected with these, ἀμύμων is used of Poulydamas in close juxtaposition to the two occasions where Hektor accepts Poulydamas' advice without demur. Moreover, for ἀμύμων to fit Poulydamas at all we must suppose that μῶμος can refer both to a reproach uttered by one person and to an accusation of guilt, but for this use of μῶμος there is no evidence, as we have already seen (above, pp. 29-31).

The proper terminology in Homer for the kind of unjust blame which Hektor does actually address to Poulydamas on the other occasions mentioned above (p. 46) may be found in the similar incident between Hektor and Alexandros (see above, p. 48). When Hektor more or less accuses Alexandros of being responsible for the deaths of several Trojans and the imminent destruction of Troy, Alexandros defends himself, saying that, although it is Hektor's impulse to blame him when he is blameless—ἐπεί τοι

θυμὸς ἀναίτιον αἰτιάασθαι [XIII.775], on this occasion he has been fighting to the best of his ability, and that at least two of those whose deaths Hektor has charged to his neglect are alive, though wounded. Exactly this same idiom, ἀναίτιος in the predicate immediately followed by a form of the verb αἰτιάομαι, occurs twice more: once when Telemachos asks Eurykleia if the beggar was properly treated the night before, and implies (falsely) that Penelope is likely to have mistreated him, Eurykleia replies, "Now, child, don't go blaming her who is blameless"—οὐκ ἄν μιν νῦν, τέκνον, ἀναίτιον αἰτιόωιο [20.135], and she goes on to describe in detail how solicitously Penelope treated the beggar. In the second passage, Patroklos refuses Nestor's invitation to sit down, saying that he must return at once to Achilleus, whom he describes as quick to anger (νεμεσητός) [XI.649] (see above, p. 33, n. 2) and likely to blame even someone who is blameless—τάχα κεν καὶ ἀναίτιον αἰτιόωιτο [XI.654]. It will be seen that all three passages are free from the vagueness and difficulties which attend the translation of ἀμύμων as "blameless." It may be added that ἀμύμων is never used with αἰτιάομαι, nor is there any suggestion in Homer that ἀμύμων and ἀναίτιος are synonymous.[1]

In short, it does not seem likely that ἀμύμων signifies that Poulydamas is "blameless" in reference to Hektor's rebukes. Nor is

[1] The three passages cited above are the only places where the idiom ἀναίτιον + αἰτιάομαι occurs in Homer (cf. Chap. IV, p. 81, n. 2). The verb αἰτιάομαι occurs three more times in the Iliad, always with the meaning "criticize, blame" [X.120, XI.78, XVI.202]; the last passage is particularly illuminating because Achilleus there gives a sample of the kind of criticisms the Myrmidons had been uttering. The verb occurs also once in the Odyssey: Zeus says that mortals αἰτιόωνται gods for the evils that they bring on themselves [1.32]; here the verb has overtones of "hold responsible for", but it is clear that verbal blame is involved (φασι). Zeus' statement is corroborated by the usage of αἴτιος in Homer, for in seven out of fifteen instances responsibility for something is transferred to the gods. The adjective ἀναίτιος occurs also twice more by itself, once in the Iliad [XX.297], and once in the Odyssey [22.356], both times meaning "not to blame" for an action which is not defined, but which is clear from the context. The adjective αἴτιος occurs without αἰτιάομαι, but often with a negative, thus making it equivalent to ἀναίτιος, nine times in the Iliad and six in the Odyssey, always in the predicate and always meaning "at fault" or "to blame" for an action which again is not defined, but which is clear from the context [I.153, III.164, XIII.111 and 222, XV.137, XIX.86 and 410, XXI.275 and 370, 1.348, 2.87, 8,311, 11.559, 22.48 and 155]. In none of these passages is there any association with ἀμύμων, as one might expect if ἀμύμων meant undeserving of μῶμος in any sense; see above on 2.87, pp. 29-33.

there any reason to suppose that the poet wished to present Poulydamas as a character who was remarkably free from μῶμος in the sense of "gossip." On the contrary, all the passages in which he is called ἀμύμων, as well as that in which he is described as ἀμώμητος, are conventional catalogues or episodes, similar to the others which we have examined. The other persons who appear in these passages with Poulydamas are adorned with epithets referring to their appearance or to their bravery. Similarly, the other epithets used of Poulydamas, both in these passages, and elsewhere in the Iliad, all refer to his bravery.[1] The meaning of ἀμώμητος cannot be determined from the Homeric poems, since it appears only this once, but as we shall see in due course (below, pp. 77ff.), there is good reason to suppose that it refers to physical appearance, so that both it and ἀμύμων are meant to indicate that Poulydamas is a regular Homeric warrior, physically strong and handsome, as well as brave.

The two persons now remaining from Appendix I, List 1 are Antilochos and Pandaros; in their cases it is even more clearly demonstrable than in the last Poulydamas passage that any connotations of "blameless" are positively inappropriate. Antilochos is called ἀμύμων only once in the Iliad, during the chariot race at the funeral games for Patroklos. The poet uses a simile to express by how far Menelaos was outstripped by ἀμύμων Antilochos:

τόσσον δὴ Μενέλαος ἀμύμονος Ἀντιλόχοιο
λεῖπετ' [XXIII.522-523]

This is just after Menelaos has roundly denounced Antilochos for the reckless driving which put him ahead [XXIII.439-441], and later Antilochos himself admits that he acted wrongly [XXIII.586-

[1] Besides ἀγαπήνωρ, ἐγχέσπαλος, and μεγάθυμος (see pp. 47-48), Poulydamas, only other conventional epithet is ἀγαυός [XV.446], which often has the same pejorative connotations as the English "proud," but which nonetheless is used of several others besides Poulydamas who are also ἀμύμων: Achilleus [X.392, XVII.557]; Laomedon [V.649, VI.23] (see p. 19); Neleus [15.229]; and the Phaiakians [6.55, 13.120 and 304]; cf. its use of Tithonos [XI.1 = 5.1] (see pp. 17-19), and in association with ἴφθιμος (see Appendix II, List A. 6, 3 and 13). Others who, like Poulydamas, are described as coming as an ἀμύντωρ (or ἐπαμύντωρ) are Asios [XIII.384], Hektor [XV.610], and Menelaos [XV.540]. In the final and most bitter altercation with Hektor [XVIII.249ff.], Poulydamas is *not* called ἀμύμων but rather πεπνυμένος (see below, p. 51, n. 2 on Antilochos); he is also said to know the future and the past, and to be better than Hektor in counsel (μύθοισι) [XVIII.249-252]; the Trojans are called fools (νήπιοι) for not following his good advice [XVIII.311-313].

595],[1] so that ἀμύμων here cannot with propriety mean "blameless." As usual, Antilochos' other epithets show considerable correlation with those of others who are called ἀμύμων. He is δαΐφρων; like Patroklos he is both ἄλκιμος and a μήστωρ ἀϋτῆς, master of the battle cry; like Menelaos he is κυδάλιμος, proud; he is most frequently called the son of μεγάθυμος Nestor; he has a distinctive epithet, μενεχάρμης, steadfast in battle, which is roughly synonymous with ἐΰς.[2] He is also twice called Νέστορος ἀγλαὸς υἱός, the ἀγλαός son of Nestor, and since ἀγλαός (literally, shining) refers to his physical beauty,[3] there is no reason why ἀμύμων should not do

[1] Antilochos not only makes a general statement about the ὑπερβασίαι, κραιπνότερος νόος and λεπτὴ μῆτις of youth, but says that he would prefer to give up his prize to Menelaos rather than fall from his graces καὶ δαίμοσι εἶναι ἀλιτρός [XXIII.589-590 and 593-595] (cf. on Telemachos and ἀλιτήμενος, Chap. VII, p. 119 and n. 2).

[2] For δαΐφρων see Appendix II, List 7, A. 4 and p. 25, nn. 1 and 2, and p. 26, n. 1; for ἄλκιμος see Appendix II, List 8, B. 2 and above, p. 45, n. 1; Antilochos and Meriones are called μήστωρες ἀϋτῆς twice [XIII.93 = XIII.479) (cf. above, p. 44, n. 1); Antilochos and his brother Thrasymedes are called ἀνέρε κυδαλίμω when they are still ignorant of Patroklos' death [XVII.378] (see above p. 40 and n. 2; cf. Νέστορος υἷας...κυδαλίμοιο [XIX.238]); for μεγάθυμος Nestor as the father of Antilochos see Appendix II, List 5, A. 15 and Chap. I, p. 21, n. 1.

Antilochos is called μενεχάρμης three times [XIII.396, XV.582, XXIII.419], the first two times when he is actually fighting and the last when he is about to drive his chariot past Menelaos' in a narrow place; otherwise the word occurs only twice more in the Iliad (never in the Odyssey): once of Hippolochos, son of Antimachos, when Agamemnon slays him and his brother [XI.122]; and once of Hipponos in a list of those slain by Hektor [XI.303]. Once a metrical variant is used indefinitely, when Poseidon suggests that whoever is μενέχαρμος but has a small shield take a bigger one [XIV.376]. It is noteworthy also that Antilochos is once called πεπνυμένος, when he apologizes to Menelaos [XXIII.586], after having been addressed by Menelaos as πρόσθεν πεπνυμένε [XXIII.570]; cf. οὔ σ' ἔτυμόν γε φάμεν πεπνῦσθαι 'Αχαιοί, in Menelaos' earlier rebuke [XXIII.440], and νῦν αὖτε νόον νίκησε νεοίη when Menelaos accepts his apology [XXIII.604]. This whole episode, when compared with the episode in which Poulydamas is called πεπνυμένος (see above, p. 50, n. 1), shows clearly the techniques which Homer uses to convey the kinds of relations that exist between Poulydamas and Hektor on the one hand and Menelaos and Antilochos on the other, and makes it at once obvious that ἀμύμων has nothing to do either with Poulydamas being unjustly blamed by Hektor or with Antilochos being rightly blamed by Menelaos.

[3] The main difference in meaning between ἀγλαός and ἀμύμων is that ἀγλαός refers to the beauty which the Greeks associated with lustrous gleaming objects, whereas ἀμύμων apparently refers to the beauty that is the result of a well-built, well-coordinated body. Accordingly ἀγλαός does not develop the strong overtones of heroic valor that ἀμύμων, ἐΰς, etc. do, but is closer to θεοειδής (see Chap. I, p. 20, n. 1). Obviously it was possible to possess both kinds of beauty simultaneously, and three characters are in fact both

the same. Finally, he is called ἀμύμων four times in the Odyssey always in reference to his physical beauty and in connection with his prowess as a runner, which is several times noted in the Odyssey as well, (see below, pp. 125-126).[1]

The case of Pandaros is more complicated, for the two passages in which he is called ἀμύμων are very similar, except in the matter of his culpability. In the first one Athena goes through the Trojan army "searching for the god-like (ἀντίθεος) Pandaros, in case she might find him somewhere; she found the ἀμύμων and powerful (κρατερός) son of Lykaon":

> Πάνδαρον ἀντίθεον διζημένη, εἴ που ἐφεύροι.
> εὗρε Λυκάονος υἱὸν ἀμύμονά τε κρατερόν τε. [IV.88-89]

The same two lines, with only the necessary change of gender in the participle, are used in the second passage, where Aineias searches for and finds Pandaros [V.168-169]. Both Athena and Aineias then stand near Pandaros and address him, but the import of their speeches and Pandaros' situation are very different. In the first case, Athena, addressing him as "valiant (δαΐφρων) son of Lykaon" [IV.93], persuades him to break the truce by treacherously wounding Menelaos with an arrow, so that Pandaros in this situation can scarcely be called "blameless" with any appropriateness. It is true

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ἀμύμων and ἀγλαός: Antilochos, Pandaros, and Neleus. Stanford, *Odyssey*, Vol. I, p. 239, on 2.109, comments: "a favourite epithet in H., and typically Greek in its combined implications of brightness, beauty, glory and joy...Probably conn. w. γελάω whose basic meaning is 'look bright, cheerful' ". Cf. further, Stanford, *Metaphor*, pp. 114-116, for a discussion of the root γελ-, γαλ, -γλ- in word referring to brightness. For a complete list of references and occurrences of ἀγλαός see Appendix II, List 9.

[1] Menelaos once remarks that no other Achaian is swifter on foot than Antilochos (see Appendix II, List 8, B. 2). Later Antilochos, swift warrior though he is, does not await an attack by Hektor and the Trojans: 'Αντίλοχος δ' οὐ μεῖνε θοός περ ἐὼν πολεμιστής [XV.585]. (The same line is used of Aineias, whose swiftness of foot is also mentioned several times, when he does not face the attack of Antilochos and Menelaos [V.571]). In the foot race at Patroklos' funeral games Antilochos comes in third, being beaten by the older men Aias and Odysseus (see his rueful, but good-natured, comment on their superiotiry [XXIII.787-793]), but he is called the swiftest of the young men: ὁ γὰρ αὖτε νέους ποσὶ πάντας ἐνίκα [XXIII.756]. It is Antilochos' speed of foot which leads Menelaos to send him to Achilleus with the message of Patroklos' death: ἀλλὰ σύ γ' αἶψ' 'Αχιλῆϊ θέων ἐπὶ νῆας 'Αχαιῶν / εἰπεῖν [XVII.691-692]; cf. on Laodokos, to whom Antilochos hands his weapons when he starts to run (see p. 12), also his arrival at Achilleus' tent: 'Αντίλοχος δ' 'Αχιλῆϊ πόδας ταχὺς ἄγγελος ἦλθε [XVIII.2].

that he acts at the instigation of Athena, but that relieves him neither of responsibility nor of blame for his action, and the poet makes it clear that he yields to her persuasions through his own folly—ὣς φάτ' Ἀθηναίη, τῶι δὲ φρένας ἄφρονι πεῖθεν [IV.104].[1]

In the second episode Aineias reproaches Pandaros for not using his arrows to halt Diomedes, who is raging through the Trojan ranks slaughtering many. Pandaros defends himself against Aineias' criticism at some length [V.180-216], saying (quite truly) that he has already shot at Diomedes, and hit him too, but without effect. He does, it is true, reproach himself for disobeying his father and leaving his horses at home, so that he has no way of getting to the battle to fight at close quarters, but he accepts Aineias' invitation to ride in his chariot, and goes off to fight with conventional weapons. Summarized thus, it seems as if Pandaros can fairly be said to be "blameless" in this episode, but only if we ignore the connotations of μῶμος and select the appropriate ones of the English "blame" (see above, on Poulydamas, p. 49). Actually, although both Aineias' speech and Pandaros' may be construed as containing reproaches and criticisms, no word in the whole episode means anything like "blame" or "reproach," as we should expect, on the analogy of ἀναίτιος (see p. 49, n. 1), if ἀμύμων were meant to signify that Pandaros does not really deserve either his own or Aineias' reproaches.

Moreover, if ἀμύμων really describes Pandaros as significantly

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[1] As in the case of δαΐφρων, (see pp. 25-26), special pleading to maintain the traditional interpretation of an epithet is necessary for ἀμύμων in this passage. Most recently, for example, Else, p. 35, writes: "Blameless indeed, when he is about to commit an act of infamy! The word has puzzled many readers; it has even been cited to prove that the poet's use of epithets is purely mechanical: Pandarus is blameless because the epithet is customary and fits the meter, regardless of the context. Is it not possible on the contrary that the poet indeed imputes no blame to Pandarus?" Else argues that Pandaros "personally is blameless," but "Zeus was determined that the Trojans should be guilty." One would like to see Else try to square his argument with the use of ἀμύμων and with the Homeric notion of responsibility as they both appear in Zeus' speech about Aigisthos (see pp. 9, 102, 123-4; cf. above, p. 49, n. 1). The truth is that Pandaros' guilt as an individual is indeed of no special importance in the Iliad—but neither is his innocence, so that the poet would not use ἀμύμων here to indicate that Zeus or Athena was to blame, even assuming that it was a common equivalent of ἀναίτιος, which it is not (see p. 49). But by implication, it is clear that Pandaros is guilty of a serious offense (see especially III.298-301); the fact that the gods are presented as instigating him would not excuse him in Homer's eyes (cf. on Patroklos' death, above, p. 42, n. 3).

"blameless" in this passage, it seems highly unlikely that Homer would have used the same lines to call Pandaros ἀμύμων in the episode where Athena persuades him to a treacherous act—unless we resort to the theory of careless use of formula. It is more probable that ἀμύμων has the same meaning in both episodes because it refers to something about Pandaros that holds true whether or not he is culpable. That such is the case is made probable by the close association in these passages with δαΐφρων, ἀντίθεος, and κρατερός (see above, pp. 20-22). Pandaros' physical strength is emphasized again in the sequel to the second passage, where Sthenelos, upon seeing Pandaros and Aineias advancing in Aineias' chariot, says to Diomedes, "I see two mighty men furious to fight with you and possessed of enormous strength":

> ἄνδρ' ὁρόω κρατερὼ ἐπὶ σοὶ μεμαῶτε μάχεσθαι,
> ἶν' ἀπέλεθρον ἔχοντας. [V.244-245]

He then identifies one as Pandaros, τόξων εὖ εἰδώς, skilled in archery, and the other as Aineias, son of ἀμύμων Anchises (see above, p. 17). The only other formula used of Pandaros, which is the most common description of him, refers to his beauty: Λυκάονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός, the ἀγλαός son of Lykaon (see on Antilochos above p. 51 and n. 3, and Appendix II, List 9).

There is yet another passage in which any connotations of moral blamelessness, or of not deserving reproach, are out of place. After Patroklos is armed, he orders Automedon to harness Achilleus' horses; this Automedon does, first yoking together the two immortal horses whom the gods gave to Peleus (see Appendix II, List 9, C. 5. e and f), then putting in the traces beside them ἀμύμων Pedasos:

> ἐν δὲ παρηορίῃσιν ἀμύμονα Πήδασον ἵει [XVI.152]

Pedasos falls victim later to Sarpedon's spear [XVI.466ff.], but if the hypothesis that ἀμύμων might signify "not deserving to die" was unconvincing in the case of Patroklos (see above, pp. 42-45), it is still less persuasive in this instance. One can of course dismiss the whole passage as a "late" and therefore "inferior" interpolation, and there is no doubt that the controversy over the nature and actual existence of trace-horses,[1] has distracted the attention of

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[1] See Leaf, *ad loc.* and Delebecque, pp. 99ff.

commentators from the use of ἀμύμων, which would otherwise surely have been condemned as distorted, odd, careless, and so on. But the use of ἀμύμων in this passage is only questionable on the assumption that ἀμύμων means "blameless," for if it refers instead to the beauty and strength of a man in the prime of life, its extension to a horse is quite understandable. That ἀμύμων has this connotation in the Pedasos passage is indicated by the further statement that "even though being mortal, he kept up with the immortal horses"—ὃς καὶ θνητὸς ἐὼν ἕπεθ' ἵπποις ἀθανάτοισι [XVI.154]. This interpretation is confirmed by the fact that many adjectives used of horses in Homer refer to their beauty and strength.[1]

Let us sum up the results of the investigation so far. We have examined thirty-eight passages, in which ἀμύμων is used of twenty-seven persons (or groups of persons), and one horse. In none of these is the translation "blameless" necessary, and indeed in only a few is it even satisfactory, and then only if one does not examine the text too closely, and if, further, one selects different connotations of the English word "blame" for each passage, rather than the more restricted connotation of the Greek μῶμος. Conversely, in at least three cases, those of Antilochos, Pandaros, and the horse, any connotation of "blameless" is positively inappropriate.

We must also take into account the facts that ἀμύμων is a common epithet, regularly used attributively, and in situations where no form of blame is involved, even implicitly; that it so often (at least half the time) appears in catalogue passages or in other casual references; that it tends to be applied to several members of the same family, suggesting that it denotes an inheritable characteristic; and, finally, that it is used of such a wide variety of characters—Greek, Trojan, Lykian (to say nothing of the exotic Aithiopians), male, female, prominent and obscure, but *not*, so far as we know, old, ugly, or feeble [2]—in such a wide variety of situations.

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[1] See, e.g., the horse similes in VI and XV (Appendix II, List 9, E. 3), and Dolon's description of the horses of Rhesos: καλλίστους. . . ἠδὲ μεγίστους· / λευκότεροι χιόνος, θείειν δ' ἀνέμοισιν ὁμοῖοι [X.436-437]. Cf. Delebecque, pp. 144-154 on the adjectives and epithets used in Homer to distinguish "le cheval, animal remarquable par sa beauté et par la vitesse" (p. 153).

[2] We tend to think of such characters as Anchises, Neleus, and Peleus as old, but each is called ἀμύμων only as the father of Aineias, Nestor and his brother, and Achilleus, respectively, so that the adjective is applicable to them at the times when they begot their sons. There is also Kalchas, whom many readers think of as old, although nothing in fact is said about his age (in

In contrast, the adjective ἀναίτιος is used very rarely, always in the predicate, always in contexts where it cannot possibly mean anything except "undeserving of blame" for an action which is of a sort to engender blame and whose nature is always plainly, if implicitly, indicated by the context (see above, pp. 48-49 and p. 49, n. 1). All these facts surely suggest that the meaning of ἀμύμων is not something so dependent on a specific context as "blameless," but rather refers to some comparatively general, obvious, concrete, and stable characteristic which many people may reasonably be expected to possess.

Prima facie, it is much more likely that ἀμύμων has a meaning analogous to the meanings of the adjectives with which it is commonly associated than that it has the rather rare and abstract meaning of "blameless." The other adjectives almost all refer to physical appearance or to bravery. On the evidence that we have examined so far, ἀμύμων seems to be more explicitly and more often associated with beauty than with bravery. We may, therefore, as a working hypothesis, assume that the original meaning of the epithet was "beautiful, handsome," or perhaps more precisely, "possessing the kind of beauty which is the result of bodily strength, coordination, and health." Among the passages which we have examined so far, there are a number in which there is no clear corroboration of this meaning, but that is not strange, for nothing forces a poet always to provide a synonym for a common and presumably clearly understood word. It is more important that there is no passage in which this meaning is not possible.

The suggestions given in the lexica that ἀμύμων refers to nobility or fame (see above, p. 10) may safely be dismissed as the products of perplexity rather than knowledge. There is no indication in the passages we have studied that ἀμύμων means famous, for not only is it applied to a substantial number of obscure figures, but there is no recurring association with fame as there is with beauty. The meaning "noble" seems more plausible at first, because of the occurrence of ἀμύμων in genealogical passages, but actually the genealo-

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Homer), and seers might be any age; in any case, he is called ἀμύμων not as a person, but as a seer (see pp. 94-95, and cf. on Teiresias, p. 117). As far as we can judge, ἀμύμων is restricted to persons in the prime of life; at least none of the characters shown as old in the poems, such as Nestor, Priamos, Phoinix, or Laertes is called ἀμύμων.

gies are ordinarily devoted to establishing the speaker's credentials as a warrior, not to emphasizing his nobility of birth *per se* (see above on Diomedes, p. 12; Aineias, pp. 17-19; and Glaukos, pp. 22-28).

It is true, since all the persons named by Homer become thereby famous and since, further, almost everyone he names is also of noble birth (the exception of Thersites merely points up how general is the rule),[1] nearly all epithets of persons, including ἀμύμων, can safely—if uninformatively—be translated "noble" or "famous" almost anywhere they occur. But that does not excuse such loose translations, for a study of the text will yield an ascertainable and comparatively precise meaning for most Homeric epithets. The resort to "noble" or "famous," like the theory that Homer used his formulaic epithets carelessly, saves us the trouble of studying the text, but the practice damages our appreciation of the poems by making Homer's language falsely appear as flat and flabby as the styles of some later epic poets who attempted to imitate him.

Moreover, in back of the practice of translating Homeric epithets as "noble" or "famous" lies an unexamined assumption that honorific adjectives in Homer had the same connotations and followed the same pattern of development as *nobilis* and *illustris* in Latin and their modern descendants, and for this assumption the poems offer no justification. The matter cannot be argued at length here, but so prevalent is this assumption and so entrenched the habits of translation which it has engendered that it is perhaps

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[1] The usual assumption that Thersites was a commoner (cf., e.g., Finley, *Odysseus*, pp. 84, 117ff.) rests mainly on an inference from the fact that Odysseus strikes him with a scepter [II.265-267], as he had done earlier men of the δῆμος in contrast to his polite treatment of the leaders [II.188-206]. The significant point is that no single word or epithet describes Thersites as basely born, for αἴσχιστος [II.216] refers to his ugliness, and χερειότερον [II.248], although it might mean "more basely born," can just as well mean "more cowardly" cf. Calhoun, "Classes," p. 305. As for the bastard sons of heroes, they are, of course, sons of noble fathers and no distinction between them and legitimate sons is observable in the epithets, or in Homer's statements about the various illegitimate children whom he has occasion to mention. In fact, only Agamemnon so much as used a consessive περ in referring to a bastard—it is part of his tactlessness in addressing Teukros καί σε νόθον περ ἐόντα κομίσσατο ᾧι ἐνὶ οἴκωι [VIII.284]; contrast Homer's simple statement of fact about Pedaios, a bastard son of Antenor: ὅς ῥα νόθος μὲν ἔην, πύκα δ' ἔτρεφε δῖα Θεανὼ / ἶσα φίλοισι τέκεσσι, χαριζομένη πόσεϊ ᾧι [V.70-71]. But even Agamemnon addresses Teukros as κοίρανε λαῶν [VIII.281], and Homer elsewhere uses the formula βίη Τεύκροιο ἄνακτος [XXIII.859], as well as twice calling him ἀμύμων (see p. 13).

worthwhile to point out that adjectives definitely meaning either "noble" or "famous" in Homer not only occur comparatively seldom, but also are used quite differently from ἀμύμων and the other adjectives with which it is associated.

For example, there are almost no adjectives signifying "noble" in the strict sense, and it was long ago remarked that Homer lacks many of the words to distinguish classes which exist in later Greek.[1] It has been claimed that "nobility of birth is frequently emphasized" by the patronymics and by epithets like διογενής, sprung from Zeus, and διοτρεφής, made powerful by Zeus,[2] but the claim is not supported by the usage of these words in Homer. Patronymics do nothing more than *identify* the heroes; they no more emphasize nobility of birth than do given names. The two other epithets by their very derivation do indicate that a hero is descended from, or given power by Zeus, but this is not the same as emphasizing nobility of birth.[3] Throughout the poems, the language of Homer

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[1] Calhoun, "Polity and Society," in Wace and Stubbings, p. 438, commented on "the conspicuous absence from both poems of specific terms for nobility of birth, of the antonyms of these terms, of words for ancestors and descendants, of the words later used in connection with the aristocratic γένη, and the appellations later given to the lower classes." The only epithet in Homer, as far as I can see, that refers specifically to nobility of birth is εὐπατέρεια = daughter of a noble father, used only thrice; twice of Helen [VI.292, 22.227], and once of Tyro [11.235], who is also called βασίλεια γυναικῶν, a unique phrase [11.258]. The noun ἰθα(ι)γενέεσσι = legitimate sons is a *hapax legomenon* [14.203]. For further discussion of the whole question of "nobility" in Homer, see Calhoun's two-part article, "Classes and Masses in Homer," which surveys the evidence in a characteristically thorough and sensible manner. His conclusions seem to me inescapably right and deserve to be better known.

[2] Wace and Stubbings, p. 438, in an editorial note qualifying Calhoun's statement quoted above.

[3] Complete lists of occurrences of διογενής and διοτρεφής will be found in Appendix III, Lists 1 and 2. Several points in their usage are especially noteworthy. Both are used in the vocative much more frequently than the other adjectives we have examined. Thus Odysseus is called διογενής with such preponderant frequency not because he is more noble than the others, nor because his descent from Zeus was specially remarkable, but simply because διογενής happened to get established in a convenient formula of addresses and Odysseus plays a larger role in the dialogue of the poems than any other single hero. Neither epithet is used in catalogue passages with anything like the frequency of ἀμύμων and associated adjectives (only 12 times, out of a total of 102 occurrences for both words). These facts indicate that family origin was not considered an attribute to be commented on in descriptions, like beauty, strength, wealth, or bravery, but rather, like the patronymics, part of someone's identity, to be taken account of when a person is addressed.

clearly reflects the paramount importance of valor and a comparative indifference to nobility of birth as such.[1] It should go without saying that since the wider, general meaning of "noble in character" derives from the meaning "noble in birth," it follows that Homer's adjectives should not be endowed with the general connotations of the English "noble" when his language lacks words from which such connotations could have developed.

Epithets whose derivations indisputably connect them with the idea of fame are considerably more numerous in Homer than those meaning "noble," but they are still relatively few in number and

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From its etymology one would expect διογενής to be restricted to heroes who in fact were supposed to be descended from Zeus, and this seems to be the case, although only for Achilleus does Homer himself confirm the descent—perhaps another proof of his lack of interest in nobility as such. Διογενής can be translated "Zeus-descended" throughout the poems; nothing is gained in any passage by using the English "noble" or "illustrious" with all their attendant and, to Homer, irrelevant connotations. That the epithet had no force of "noble in character" is shown by such passages as the one describing Achilleus leaping into the river [XXI.17-19; see Appendix III, List 1, A. 1b] and Diomedes' rebuke to the fleeing Odysseus [VIII.93-96; see Appendix III, List 1, A. 6c].

For διοτρεφής the etymology again furnishes the best clue to its meaning, if we bear in mind that τρέφω in Homer is always closely connected to the idea of physical growth (see, e.g., XXIII.142); for διοτρεφής does not connote "cherished" by Zeus in any general way, but "made physically strong," i.e. heroic, by him. As we might expect, διοτρεφές is less restricted in usage than διογενής, since Zeus might grant power, strength, glory in battle, and the "kingship" that resulted from these (see n. 34 below), not only to his own descendants, but to others as well; for example, Nestor and his sons, who descended from Poseidon are never called διογενής, but they are occasionally said to be διοτρεφής. Again there is no evidence for the meaning "noble in character"; see, for example, Appendix III, List 2, A. 3b and 5a.

[1] For example, Achilleus asserts his superiority over Asteropaios because he traces his family back to Zeus and Asteropaios only to the river Axios and κρείσσων αὖτε Διὸς γενεὴ ποταμοῖο τέτυκται [XXI.191]. Throughout Homer, having a god as an ancestor or a goddess for a mother is important primarily because gods were stronger than mortals; cf. Nestor's remark to Achilleus: εἰ δὲ σὺ κάρτερός ἐσσι, θεὰ δέ τε γείνατο μήτηρ [I.280]. Again in the dispute over the prizes for the chariot race, Menelaos claims the second prize that has been awarded to Antilochos, but shows concern that he might be charged with what we would call "pulling his rank"; Lattimore indeed translates "Menelaos. . . went off with the mare [Antilochos] won, for his horses were far slower, but he himself was greater in power and degree"; but the Greek for the last phrase is αὐτὸς δὲ κρείσσων ἀρετῆι τε βίηι τε [XXIII.578], which puts the matter on a basis of their relative strength and experiences as warriors, not on the question of nobility of birth. See also Sarpedon's famous speech to Glaukos on heroism [XII.310-328], which makes it plain that the prerogatives of kingship were justified not by birth, but by ἲς ἐσθλή and its exercise in battle.

restricted in usage in comparison to those referring to beauty, strength, and bravery. With the exception of δουρικλειτός, δουρικλυτός, famous with the spear, no adjectives connected with κλέος, fame, are used as recurrent epithets of the heroes; nor, again with the same exceptions, are such adjectives used in association with ἀμύμων and in the same kinds of passages, such as catalogues. Finally, these adjectives are not used with the same vaguely laudatory connotations shown by the English "illustrious." [1] In view of all these differences, and constrained by the same logic that should prevent us from using "noble" in a general sense, there is no good reason to be content with the vaguer meanings assigned to ἀμύμων by the lexica.

In fact, ἀμύμων seems to have only one non-physical reference that can be deduced from its usage in the places which we have examined so far—one whose development is natural and obvious. Since warriors are the chief subjects of the Iliad, and since ἀμύμων denotes primarily the kind of beauty possessed by a young, strong, and active man, it might by an easy extension come to mean "like a warrior" in respect to any quality which was allied with or dependent on a strong, handsome body. ᾿Αμύμων therefore may possess the connotations of "brave", "spirited," "steadfast in battle," and so on; but it is clear that these meanings remain, at least in the passages which we have so far discussed, only overtones and have not become the chief signification, for there is no case in which such a translation as "brave" is required, or even preferable to one based on the literal meaning of ἀμύμων. If English had an adjective that meant "possessing the strong, handsome body of a warrior," that adjective could be used satisfactorily in the majority of the passages which we have examined with a slight and easily-

[1] Complete lists of occurrences of κλυτός, κλειτός, and compound adjectives formed from them will be found in Appendix III, Lists 3-6. A comparison with Appendices I and II will show that epithets referring to strength and bravery, etc. are about four times as common in Homer as those meaning "famous." The same comparison will show roughly how similar in use δουρικλυτός is to ἀμύμων and its associates, and how different the others from κλυτός. Just to mention one point, although some of these adjectives are regular epithets of gods (notably Poseidon and Hephaistos) and of things (especially armor), not one of them is a regular recurring epithet for any single hero, so that when they are used of a hero they inevitably have quite a different effect from that of epithets like ἀμύμων. The use, meaning, and distribution of these adjectives raise various special problems which are too complicated and which would take us to far afield even to touch on here.

made adaptation for the horse Pedasos. The extension of such an adjective to women might appear strange to modern readers, but in Homer's poems, when women are said to be beautiful, their size and strength are often praised as well, (see Appendix II, List 10; Chap. I, p. 23, n. 1; and p. 153 below), so it is clear that the heroic ideal of feminine beauty was considerably less frail than ours, and the occasional use of ἀμύμων of women becomes understandable.

CHAPTER THREE

AMYMΩN OF ACHILLEUS IN THE ILIAD

If we turn now to the thirteen passages in which ἀμύμων is used of Achilleus (see Appendix I, List 2), we see that they fall into a pattern similar to that found in the other passages which we have examined. Superficially, "blameless" may seem an appropriate translation for many of the passages, but a closer inspection reveals various degrees of inadequacy.

Achilleus is first called ἀμύμων in the catalogue of ships; the poet asks the Muse to tell him who was ἄριστος, best and bravest, of all the men and horses who accompanied the sons of Atreus. The answer is: of horses the mares of Eumelos, and Aias among men, at least while Achilleus stayed angry, since he (Achilleus) was πολὺ φέρτατος, much the best, "and the horses (were best) who used to transport the ἀμύμων son of Peleus":

ἵπποι θ', οἳ φορέεσκον ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα. [II.770]

In the next lines the poet describes how Achilleus lay apart in his ships, idle because of his anger at Agamemnon, and enforcing idleness on his men.

One might argue that the poet uses ἀμύμων here to indicate that Achilleus was in the right, mainly, in the quarrel with Agamemnon, but this seems improbable when we find almost the same phrase reappearing in quite a different context, one that has no connection at all with the quarrel: when Dolon volunteers to go on a spying expedition to the Achaian camp, as a reward he asks Hektor to swear that he "will give [Dolon] the horses who transport the ἀμύμων son of Peleus":

δωσέμεν, οἳ φορέουσιν ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα. [X.323]

When Agamemnon sends the embassy to persuade Achilleus to re-enter the war, Nestor encourages the envoys "to try hard to win over the ἀμύμων son of Peleus":

πειρᾶν ὡς πεπίθοιεν ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα. [IX.181]

Now shortly before this Nestor has criticized Agamemnon for dishonoring Achilleus [IX.106-111], and again ἀμύμων might be

taken as "blameless," meaning that Nestor considers Achilleus to be in the right. It is true that he sees the folly of insulting the best warrior, but there is no real doubt that Nestor is essentially on Agamemnon's side in the quarrel, and it is demonstrable from the text that he holds Achilleus to blame (see especially I.277-281 and XI.655ff. and 761ff.).

Moreover, the notion that ἀμύμων applied to Achilleus refers to his position in the quarrel, a notion that easily suggests itself when ἀμύμων is rendered "blameless," is contradicted by at least one passage. After Odysseus has reported the failure of the embassy, Diomedes, who shows a tendency to regard the other Greeks' recognition that they need Achilleus as a slight on his own valor (see, e.g., IX.34ff.), tells Agamemnon: "I wish that you had not supplicated ἀμύμων Peleion, for he is haughty enough otherwise, and now you have driven him more into pride":

μὴ ὄφελες λίσσεσθαι ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα,
μυρία δῶρα διδούς· ὁ δ' ἀγήνωρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλως·
νῦν αὖ μιν πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀγηνορίῃσιν ἐνῆκας. [IX.698-700]

None of the other passages in which Achilleus is called ἀμύμων are relevant to the quarrel with Agamemnon. For all of them, indeed, one must go rather far afield to find *any* sense in which the connotations of "blameless" are appropriate. Two of the passages involve Patroklos. In describing his arming for battle the poet tells us that Patroklos put on all the armor of Achilleus, except that he did not take the great heavy spear of ἀμύμων Aiakides, which no other of the Achaians but Achilleus himself could wield:

ἔγχος δ' οὐχ ἕλετ' οἶον ἀμύμονος Αἰακίδαο,
βριθὺ μέγα στιβαρόν· τὸ μὲν οὐ δύνατ' ἄλλος 'Αχαιῶν
πάλλειν, ἀλλά μιν οἶος ἐπίστατο πῆλαι 'Αχιλλεύς.
[XVI.140-142]

Then as Patroklos is dying he prophecies to Hektor that he too will die, subdued by the hands of ἀμύμων Achilleus, son of Aiakos:

οὔ θην οὐδ' αὐτὸς δηρὸν βέῃ, ἀλλά τοι ἤδη
ἄγχι παρέστηκεν θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή,
χερσὶ δαμέντ' 'Αχιλῆος ἀμύμονος Αἰακίδαο. [XVI.852-854]

In order to retain the sense "blameless" for ἀμύμων in these passages, one must either suppose that Patroklos thinks of Achilleus as blameless in some general, unspecified sense, or that the poet is

suggesting that even if Achilleus will blame himself for Patroklos' death, Patroklos himself does not. But this last seems unsatisfactorily vague and the first supposition is explicitly contradicted by the text, for there are at least two passages where Patroklos expresses trenchant criticism of Achilleus. In one, which comes only shortly before the first of the ἀμύμων passages quoted above, he bitterly reproaches Achilleus for his hardheartedness towards the Greeks [XVI.29-35]. In the other, his shade reproaches Achilleus, more gently, for being forgetful of him; the ghost wants only burial and in no way appreciates the thoughts of vengeance that so consume Achilleus [XXIII.69-92]. In this same speech, incidentally, the ghost addresses Achilleus with a phrase which refers to his physical beauty, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' (godlike) Achilleus [XXIII.80].[1]

Even if one can convince oneself that it is in some way, however remote and unspecified a way, appropriate for Achilleus to be "blameless" in relation to Patroklos, one still faces the problem of justifying the connotations of "blameless" in three passages where Achilleus is called ἀμύμων not by his dearest comrade, but by his chief foe, Hektor. The first of these is similar to the first of the Patroklos passages. After Patroklos' death, Hektor tells the Trojans to go on fighting bravely, "while I put on the beautiful armor of ἀμύμων Achilleus":

> ὄφρ' ἂν ἐγὼν 'Αχιλῆος ἀμύμονος ἔντεα δύω
> καλά. [XVII.186-187]

Later, as Hektor awaits the onslaught of Achilleus, he wonders unrealistically if he might escape death by offering to return Helen and all the possessions that Alexandros had taken; to accomplish this negotiation, he would lay aside his arms, "going myself (i.e. unarmed) I would come opposite ἀμύμων Achilleus":

> αὐτὸς ἰὼν 'Αχιλῆος ἀμύμονος ἀντίος ἔλθω. [XXII.113]

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[1] The phrase θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ', used five times in the Iliad and once in the Odyssey, is restricted to Achilleus, who is also called θεοείκελος and ἶσος Ἄρηϊ ('Ενυαλίωι). Such comparisons of mortals to gods are not used of Achilleus alone, though, for the last two expressions, and other similar ones are used of a number of characters in Homer (see e.g., on Agenor's brother Akamas, p. 22). Comparisons between men and gods are regularly of the body, usually of beauty and size, but three times of voice; only once is such a comparison non-physical [13.89]. A complete list of occurrences will be found in Appendix II, List 10, from which it can be seen that there is a high degree of correlation between expressions comparing mortals and gods and epithets referring to looks, such as ἀμύμων, ἀντίθεος, θεοειδής, and ἰσόθεος.

Thirdly, when the two at last face each other in the final duel, Achilleus tells Hektor that he will soon die by his spear, which he promptly hurls. But Hektor ducks, avoiding the weapon, then addresses ἀμύμων Achilleus and says, "you missed, godlike (θεοῖς ἐπιείκελος; see above p. 64, n. 1) Achilleus":

Ἕκτωρ δὲ προσέειπεν ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα·
"ἤμβροτες . . . θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ. [XXII.278-279]

As to the first two passages, it seems hard to think of any plausible reason why Hektor should speak of his arch enemy and the chief threat to Troy as "blameless" in any sense.[1] In the third passage only does there seem (in English) to be some justification for the translation of ἀμύμων as "blameless." After the lines just quoted Hektor goes on to complain that Achilleus, in saying that Hektor would die by his spear, did not truly foreknow his death, but was simply trying to frighten him. In fact, of course, it is Hektor who is deluded, and Achilleus' prediction was correct. But again, in Greek, Hektor's reproach is not the kind of blame meant by μῶμος, and so ἀμύμων cannot be used to indicate that Achilleus does not deserve the charge (see above, pp. 29-39).

Then there are two passages involving Thetis in which Achilleus is called ἀμύμων. In the first, Thetis hears the cry of lamentation that Achilleus utters for the slain Patroklos, and laments in her turn, for she realizes that Achilleus now will die at Troy, mourning for his comrade during the rest of his short life; she says, "I bore a son, ἀμύμων and strong (κρατερός; cf. above, pp. 20-22, 54), preeminent among heroes; he shot up like a young sapling, and I reared him like a tree in an orchard":

". . . τέκον υἱὸν ἀμύμονά τε κρατερόν τε.
ἔξοχον ἡρώων· ὁ δ' ἀνέδραμεν ἔρνεϊ ἶσος·
τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ θρέψασα, φυτὸν ὣς γουνῷ ἀλωῆς. [XVIII.55-57]

[1] As might be expected, the Trojans recognize Achilleus' greatness as a warrior—but as a threat; they are not so carried away by admiration for his prowess as to call him "blameless." In his soliloquy before meeting Achilleus Hektor finally realizes that Achilleus is not likely to be merciful [XXII.123-124]; then at the end of his speech after Achilleus' first spear cast, he says that the war would be lighter for the Trojans with Achilleus dead, for he is the greatest cause of defeat for them—σὺ γάρ σφισιν πῆμα μέγιστον [XXII.287-288]. See also Poulydamas' comment: νῦν δ' αἰνῶς δείδοικα ποδώκεα Πηλεΐωνα·/ οἷος κείνου θυμὸς ὑπέρβιος [XVIII.261-262]. Even the gentle Priamos has harsh words for Achilleus [XXII.41-42], while the fiercer Hekabe says that he is savage and wishes she could eat his liver [XXIV.206-214].

In the second, when Iris comes to fetch Thetis to Olympus, "she was lamenting the lot of her ἀμύμων son, who was about to die in fertile Troy, far from his native land":

κλαῖε μόρον οὗ παιδὸς ἀμύμονος, ὅς οἱ ἔμελλε
φθίσεσθ' ἐν Τροίῃ ἐριβώλακι, τηλόθι πάτρης. [XXIV.85-86]

Now Thetis presumably considers Achilleus "blameless" in the quarrel with Agamemnon, although the point is never raised explicitly, and, like Patroklos, she might consider Achilleus "blameless" in some general sense, but one cannot account for ἀμύμων in the passages just quoted by such presumptions.[1] In the first passage, it is clear that Thetis' lament centers not on Achilleus' moral qualities, however imprecisely defined, but on his physical existence. In the second passage, it is not Thetis who calls him ἀμύμων, but the poet; and to maintain that the poet here meant ἀμύμων to have any connotation of "blameless" in a moral sense is to convict him of a blatant disregard of context. For this occurrence of ἀμύμων is embedded in the most stringent criticism of Achilleus to be found in the whole poem: Apollo has just condemned Achilleus for his outrageous treatment of Hektor's body [XXIV.39-54]; Zeus himself is just about to tell Thetis that the gods frown on Achilleus and that he beyond all the others is angry at Achilleus' madness in holding Hektor's body [XXIV.113-115]; even Here has made no attempt to defend Achilleus, but has merely insisted on his superiority to Hektor [XXIV.56-63]; in addition one must reckon with the implicit condemnations of Patroklos (see above, p. 64) and of the poet himself (see, e.g., XXIV.18-21). One cannot even imagine that by using ἀμύμων the poet means to suggest that Thetis alone considers Achilleus' behavior acceptable, for when Zeus commands her to tell Achilleus to ransom the body, she obeys at once, with not even one word of defense or mitigation for her son [XXIV.120-137].

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[1] Again, the translation of ἀμύμων by "blameless" raises for the unwary reader the specter of Achilleus' responsibility for his own death; see Lattimore's translation of the second passage: "[Thetis] was mourning the death of her blameless son who so soon was destined to die," where the too explicit "was destined" for ὅς ἔμελλε reinforces the impression that Achilleus is called "blameless" because he does not deserve to die. But surely, as in the case of Patroklos (see p. 42 and n. 3), this impression is no part of the poet's intention; the fact that his death is said to be fated does not lessen his deliberate choice of death (see especially XVIII.87-129).

Finally, there are two passages where the reference of ἀμύμων is overtly to Achilleus' body and not to his moral status. In the catalogue of ships, Nireus, a minor figure, is said to be "the handsomest man who came to Troy of all the other Danaans, after ἀμύμων Peleion":

> Νιρεύς, ὃς κάλλιστος ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθε
> τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα. [II.673-674]

Then in the fighting over Patroklos' corpse, the Trojans temporarily gain possession of it, only to be scattered by "Aias, who in looks and deeds surpassed the other Danaans, after ἀμύμων Peleion":

> Αἴας, ὃς περὶ μὲν εἶδος, περὶ δ' ἔργα τέτυκτο
> τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα [XVII.279-280]

Aias is then compared in ἀλκήν, defensive strength,[1] to a boar who scatters hunting dogs as easily as Aias does the Trojans [XVII.281-285].

These two passages furnish the most decisive indication we have yet encountered that ἀμύμων refers to physical beauty. Clearly a poet, especially an oral poet, can easily say that X was the most beautiful of all, after Y, using an epithet for Y which does not refer specifically to Y's looks.[2] But the oral style does not so constrain the poet that he must choose an epithet for Y which is enough at variance with the preceding statement to lead translators often to gloss over the discrepancy by rendering ἀμύμων "perfect," as Lattimore does in the Nireus passage. If ἀμύμων really meant free from μῶμος, we must suppose that Homer, in these two passages, made an unusually awkward choice among the formulas available to him. There is no doubt that from time to time Homer

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[1] For the connection between ἀλκή and the body, see Chap. II, p. 45, the end of n. 1. The boar simile in the Aias passage shows clearly that ἀλκή often has a more active connotation than most English equivalents (one of its commonest modifiers is θοῦρις, forward-springing, impetuous), but without losing its connection with defense, for Aias' attack here is for the purpose of defending the corpse of Patroklos.

[2] There are in fact a few such passages in Homer. For example, Agamemnon offers to Achilleus captive Trojan women, "the ones who are the most beautiful after Argive Helen"—αἵ κε μετ' Ἀργείην Ἑλένην κάλλισται ἔωσιν [IX.140 = 282]. Otos and Ephialtes are described as "much the most beautiful after famous (κλυτός) Orion" [11.310] (see Appendix III, List 3, A. 9). Similarly, Odysseus tells Achilleus that Neoptolemus "was the handsomest I saw after splendid (δῖος) Memnon"—κεῖνον δὴ κάλλιστον ἴδον μετὰ Μέμνονα δῖον [11.522]. But in none of these is the discrepancy between statement and epithet so great as it would be if ἀμύμων were moral in reference.

does do exactly this, thereby producing a clumsy or puzzling phrase.[1] But such phrases are rarely repeated in the Homeric poems. In the present case, we must suppose not that an individual poet lapsed once, but that an awkward phrase became securely embedded in the diction of oral epic. For not only do we have the two passages quoted above, but three more times, in the Odyssey, the phrase "after ἀμύμων Y" is used, always after a statement that X is beautiful (see below, pp. 118, 124-126).

It would be much harder to find a parallel for this situation, in which an unsatisfactory expression is common, than it is to find a single instance of an awkward juxtaposition of formulas. It seems much more likely that the phrase "after ἀμύμων Y" occurs so often precisely because ἀμύμων was especially suitable after a statement that X was the most beautiful of all, except for Y. It is significant also that the phrase is never used after a superlative statement involving some other attribute, but that instead we find a careful adjustment of formula to fit the context. For example, when Aias accepts Hektor's challenge to single combat, he says that Hektor will learn "what the bravest men among the Danaans are like, after Achilleus, ῥηξήνορα, breaker of men, and θυμολέοντα, lion-hearted":

> οἷοι καὶ Δαναοῖσιν ἀριστῆες μετέασι,
> καὶ μετ' Ἀχιλλῆα ῥηξήνορα θυμολέοντα. [VII.227-228]

To sum up: of the thirteen passages in which Achilleus is called ἀμύμων, there is not a single one in which the meaning "undeserving of μῶμος" is appropriate, if we take μῶμος strictly. Even if we use "blameless" without defining it closely, this translation is not entirely satisfactory in any instance, and it is clearly inappropriate in at least four places, namely in Diomedes' speech, in both speeches of Hektor, and in the passage describing Thetis' lament in XXIV.

Conversely, ἀμύμων is distinctly associated with beauty, overtly in three passages (the comparisons with Nireus and Aias, and Thetis' lament in XVIII), and implicitly twice, by association with the phrase θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' (in the addresses to Achilleus by Patroklos and by Hektor). The second of these passages is particularly important, not just because the association with ἀμύμων is closer,

[1] See, e.g., Kirk, *Songs*, pp. 204ff. for some examples (although I do not find his argument that such oddities are post-Homeric entirely convincing), and cf. Chap. V, p. 102 and p. 103, n. 1.

but because the passage in question is one where "blameless" might seem possible, since Hektor goes on to accuse Achilleus' wrongly. But as we saw (above, p. 65), the kind of accusation does not fit with the connotations of μῶμος, whereas Hektor's use of θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' makes "handsome" a satisfactory rendition of the immediately preceding ἀμύμων.

If we discard the traditional "blameless" and re-examine the passages in which ἀμύμων is used of Achilleus, we see that an adjective complimenting a handsome warrior is perfectly appropriate throughout. In the two passages which compare Nireus and Aias to Achilleus in beauty, "handsome," or something like it, is by far the most satisfactory, though not the only possible, translation of ἀμύμων. The Aias passage is a particularly good illustration of the close connection between beauty, strength, and bravery that exists in the Homeric poems. All proper Homeric heroes have all three qualities; Achilleus, the supreme hero, has all three in the highest degree.

The same sequence of association which connects beauty with physical strength and in turn with bravery in battle is present to some extent in all the rest of the passages in which Achilleus is called ἀμύμων. Both Nestor and Diomedes can freely acknowledge Achilleus' beauty and valor without compromising their essential adherence to Agamemnon in the quarrel. Achilleus is properly called ἀμύμων in relation to his immortal horses by the poet and even by Dolon; the same is true when Patroklos puts on and when Hektor speaks of putting on the armor of ἀμύμων Achilleus. For both Achilleus' armor and his horses are treated in the Iliad almost as symbols of his pre-eminent beauty and strength.[1]

The same image of Achilleus as the warrior *par excellence*, both in looks and in deeds, is rightly suggested by ἀμύμων in the remaining five passages: when the dying Patroklos prophesies to Hektor that Achilleus will avenge his death; in both passages in the final duel, when Hektor is trying to evade his encounter with the

[1] For Achilleus' armor see XVII.194ff. and XVIII.98ff.; cf. Whitman, p. 201ff. and p. 346, n. 62. For the horses see XVII.426ff., especially 448-450, and XXIII.276ff. Most relevant to the use of ἀμύμων in relation to the horses (see p. 54) is Odysseus' comment on Dolon's ambition in desiring the horses of δαΐφρων Αἰακίδης, for, he says, they are hard (ἀλεγεινοί) for mortals to manage, except Achilleus, whose mother is a goddess (cf. Chap. II, p. 59, n. 1) [X.401-404].

avenger, and when he addresses him after the first spear cast; finally, in both passages where Thetis laments the death that will come to Achilleus as the corollary of his vengeance. In all these, especially the last two, the context of Achilleus' early death lends ἀμύμων a poignancy which is more relevant to the whole poem than any of the connotations of "blameless."

CHAPTER FOUR

ETYMOLOGY; ΑΜΥΜΩΝ, ΑΜΩΜΟΣ, ΑΜΩΜΗΤΟΣ IN GREEK AUTHORS BEYOND HOMER

We have now examined all the passages in the Iliad in which ἀμύμων is applied to persons as individuals (not as members of a profession). We have also, in the course of this examination, investigated the usage of μῶμος, from which ἀμύμων is allegedly derived, and of some of the words plainly derived from μῶμος (see pp. 29-39 and Appendix IV, Lists 1 and 2). We have seen that the connotations of μῶμος and its derivatives are quite closely restricted to the spheres of gossip, of blame (as opposed to praise), of petty criticism, and of finding fault with the physical constitution of something or someone. But among all the instances of ἀμύμων which we have so far surveyed, there are very few where the epithet may convincingly be rendered "free from μῶμος" in any of the senses which μῶμος has in Greek. The translation "blameless" can only be maintained by the dubious expedient of attaching some of the nuances of the English word to ἀμύμων, and even then only if we do not demand a very high degree of relevance or significance for the epithet, but accept it uncritically as vaguely laudatory. For the consequent common practice of rendering ἀμύμων by "noble" or "illustrious" we have found no support in Homer (see pp. 57-61).

In short, it is time to subject the traditional etymology which is responsible for the translation of ἀμύμων as "blameless" to a more searching scrutiny than we have heretofore given it. The account of this etymology which is offered by the most recent and reputable authorities runs like this: ἀμύμων is a compound of *alpha* privative plus μῶμος, via an Aeolic form μῦμαρ, which is in turn a poetic variant of μῶμος.[1] Even if we ignore the discrepancies of connotation between ἀμύμων and μῶμος, there are several peculiarities in this account of the origins of ἀμύμων. First there is the fact that in Homer the adjective ἀμύμων is exceedingly common, whereas the

[1] The most elaborate, as well as the most recent is in Snell, *LdfgE*, pp. 644-649. Frisk, p. 97 offers an abbreviated account, supplemented *s.v.* μῶμος (p. 284). Ebeling, p. 98, cites references to proposals for a connection with ἀμύνω = ward off, defend.

noun from which it is said to come occurs only once. This problem is not serious in itself perhaps, but it is not even considered in the recent scholarship.

Secondly, the phonology of the derivation is not entirely satisfactory; this question *has* received some attention. It will be noticed that two changes are necessary to account for the very different appearance of ἀμύμων from μῶμος. One is in the ending, -ων, from -αρ, from -ος; this type of change is fairly common. But the other, the important one, from *omega* to *upsilon*, is extremely rare in Greek, and the parallels cited for it are not truly analogous.[1] Finally, there is the fact that the words via which ἀμύμων is derived from μῶμος are even rarer than μῶμος itself. Μῶμος at least occurs a number of times outside of Homer, and as early as Hesiod; in contrast μῶμαρ occurs only once in extant Greek literature, in the Alexandrian poet Lycophron (see Appendix IV, List 3, No. 2), who is notoriously addicted to neologisms. The most crucial link, the Aeolic μῦμαρ, is attested nowhere in Greek literature, early or late, but only in the lexicographer Hesychius. If this etymology offered a meaning for ἀμύμων which suited most of the passages in the Iliad, one might be willing to overlook any or all of its oddities and to refrain from questioning the weakness of the links in its chain. As it is, one is inclined to wonder how it ever suggested itself, far more how it succeeded in attaining the status of an accepted fact.

Part of the answer is that there exists no obviously right word containing the important syllable -μυμ- in Greek, and the other etymologies offered by the ancient sources are so manifestly absurd that the derivation from μῶμος acquires a specious plausibility by contrast.[2] Still, we are surely justified in demanding that

[1] *LdfgE*, 644.62 admits "einzelheiten unklar"; Frisk, p. 284, comments that the vowel change ω/υ "ist nicht ausgeschlossen." See also Schwyzer, I, 346. In fact, only three parallels seem available: ζωμός / ζύμη; χελωνή / χελυννά (Aeolic); and ἥρως / ἥρυς (feminine, in inscriptions). Not one of these provides a real analogue for the situation of ἀμύμων, that is, a case where an exceedingly common adjective with -υ- comes from a comparatively common noun with -ω-, while, moreover, two other adjectives with -ω- remain common (see pp. 73 and 89-92 on ἄμωμος and ἀμώμητος).

[2] The most frequent synonyms offered for ἀμύμων by the ancient scholia and lexica assume the derivation from μῶμος; e.g. ἄψογος, ἄμεμπτος, ἀμώμητος, ἄμωμος (Suidas); ἀγαθός, ἀμώμητος, ἄμεμπτος (Hesychius, *s.v.* ἀμύμος, with καὶ ἀμύμων added at the end of the definitions); ἀγαθός, ἄψογος, ἄμώμος, ἀμώμητος (D Scholia). In Gaisford, 87.29 we find the clearly ridiculous alternatives: παρὰ τὸ μύω, τὸ καμμύω, ὁ μέλλων μύσω, ὁ μὴ κεκαμμυμένος. In Cramer, I, 46.1-22, there is a similar account resulting in ὁ μὴ ἀνακλίμενος as

modern etymologists check their hypothesis against the evidence for the meaning of ἀμύμων offered by the Homeric poems, and this they have conspicuously failed to do. It is perhaps understandable that Frisk, whose etymological wordbook is to cover the whole Greek language, should be content to repeat previous German scholarship on this matter. But there is little excuse for the *petitio principii* and the distortions of the evidence of Homer to conform to an etymological theory that are perpetrated in the article on ἀμύμων in the last fascicle of the new lexicon of early Greek epic.[1]

For it cannot be said that we lack the information with which to confirm or disprove the hypothesis that ἀμύμων is derived from μῶμος. We have plenty of evidence for the meaning of ἀμύμων in early Greek. We also have considerable evidence for the usage of μῶμος and related words. Above all, we have two adjectives unquestionably derived from μῶμος; one is ἀμώμητος, which occurs once in Homer (see above, p. 50) and the other is ἄμωμος. The phonology of the derivation of these two words from μῶμος is straightforward, and they are unmistakably connected with μῶμος in their meanings also, as we have already observed in a few instances (see below, p. 74, n. 1).

well as this added absurdity: ἢ παρὰ τὸ μύγμη γίγνεται μύγμων καὶ ἀμύμων, ἐνδείᾳ τοῦ γ, ἤγουν, ὁ ἄψογος, καὶ εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἔστι μυγμήν, ἤτοι κἂν λεπτότατον ψόγον, εὑρεῖν. Cf. Stephanus, II, 174, *s.v.* ἀμύμων.

[1] The entire discussion of the meaning of ἀμύμων in *LdfgE*, by Adelheid Mette, is dominated by the assumed derivation from μῶμος. For example, the first category, which is presumably meant to contain the most basic and characteristic meaning of a word, is devoted to instances in which there is alleged to be "unmittelbarer Bezug auf Verhalten von Pers. in bestimmten Grundsituationen" (645.48-50). The passages discussed under this heading are few. Moreover, with one exception, all occur in the Odyssey, a fact which should have given Mette pause, whatever she may think of the relative dates of the Iliad and the Odyssey. The section begins: "ἀ. bezeichnet Pers. (οἶκος des Od. steht für seine Bewohner α 232) als *untadelig* in bezug auf ihr *Verhalten* Hinsicht" (645.71-73). The parenthetical statement to explain the inclusion of 1.232 here is completely unjustified by anything in the context, and the oddity of the passage is not remarked by Mette (see pp. 104-105). The other passages cited are X.170, 7.303, 19.332, 24.194, and 19.109. Of these the only one which we have discussed is the first (see p. 13); Mette comments: "als umsichtiger Heerführer" (646.12), a statement for which I see no justification in the text. The other passages are all highly unusual, a fact of which Mette appears completely unaware (for discussions of them see pp. 121-123, 111-115 and 138-143).

Of the crucial instances in which ἀμύμων is used of people who are blamed, or wrong, Mette says (645.61-63) only that ἀμύμων is used "auch in Äusserungen über eine neg. beurteilte Handlung, die den von dem Betreffenden verkörperten durch α. bezeichneten Typ unberührt lassen," which, I submit,

If ἀμύμων too is in fact derived from μῶμος, then it ought to show significant similarities in usage and in meaning, both literal and developed, to its alleged sister words. To see if it does, we need only survey the use of all three words in Greek poetry outside Homer.[1]

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is pure nonsense. Moreover, the only passages that Mette considers as needing this special pleading are IX. 698 (see p. 63), XXIII.522 (see pp. 50-51), and 1.29 (see pp. 9, 102, 123); she ignores IV. 89 (see pp. 51-54) and XXIV.85 (see p. 65).

Finally, for the great majority of passages Mette makes no attempt to claim any particular meaning for ἀμύμων. She simply cites them in section 4 (646.73-648.77), which begins with this general observation: "α. kennzeichnet Pers., die in der Schilderung hervorgehoben werden sollen (häufig, wenn sie sich auszeichnen [namentlich im Kampf], andere sich an sie wenden, mit ihnen verglichen werden usw.), als *untadelig* im Sinne einer *allgemeinen pos. Charakterisierung*" (646.73-77; italics hers). She does note that ἀμύμων occurs "gelegentlich neben κρατερός (in formelhafter Vbd.), ἀντίθεος, ἔξοχος ἀνθρώπων, φέρτατος, ἀφνειός (647.1-2), but does not observe the more common association with references to beauty, nor does she seem to be aware of any inconcinnity between the connections she does note and the theory that ἀμύμων comes from μῶμος. Her only two attempts in this section to establish the significance of ἀμύμων by a reference to another epithet are feeble or erroneous. On XVI.140 (see pp. 63-64) she says "(vgl. innerhalb derselben Szene vv. 134. 165...ποδώκεος Αἰακίδαο)" (647.18-19); the association with "swift-footed" surely has no special significance in this particular scene. On Laodokos in XVI.698 (see p. 12) she says: "(Ladookos, Δ 87 als κρατερὸς αἰχμητής beschrieben)" (648.71); but the Laodokos who is called a strong spear-man in IV.87 is a Trojan and has nothing to do with the Greek comrade of Antilochos who is called ἀμύμων.

[1] Instances of ἄμωμος and ἀμώμητος in Greek prose are covered, along with other adjectives derived from μῶμος in Appendix IV, Lists 1 and 2 (see pp. 34-39); for ἄμωμος see 1, 11a; 2, 10b and 13; for ἀμώμητος see 2, 5a and 6. The only instance of ἀμύμων in Greek prose which I have come across is in Plutarch's life of Numa. He says that Numa realized that when the people see an example of virtue (ἀρετή) in a king, "they voluntarily grow temperate and adapt themselves to an ἀμύμων and blessed life in friendship and mutual concord with justice and moderation, in which is the fairest (καλλιστόν) end of all government": ἑκουσίως σωφρονοῦσι καὶ συμμετασχηματίζονται πρὸς τὸν ἐν φιλίαι καὶ ὁμονοίαι τῆι πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετὰ δικαιοσύνης καὶ μετριότητος ἀμύμονα καὶ μακάριον βίον, ἐν ὧι τὸ κάλλιστον ἁπάσης πολιτείας τέλος ἐστί. [XX.8]. Here ἀμύμων is clearly moral, but "blameless" is unnecessary and perhaps even positively inappropriate, for life itself is not properly subject to μῶμος, only events and people in it. Moreover, the context and tone are such that it is possible Plutarch deliberately used ἀμύμων instead of ἄμωμος or ἀμώμητος precisely because it had no connection with μῶμος. That is, he may have wanted to say that such a life is more positively good than a life merely free from μῶμος; compare the simile on the ideal king in the Odyssey [19.108ff.] (see pp. 111-115), which may well have influenced Plutarch here and where the connotations of μῶμος are more clearly inappropriate. In any case, the meaning "good, beautiful" is not only sufficient here and a probable development from the reference to physical beauty which we assume for ἀμύμων

They occur there with comparative infrequency, but often enough for our purposes.

Our most important witness is Hesiod, who uses all three words more often than any other single author, except for Quintus of Smyrna (see below, pp. 82-84). In Hesiod's surviving works (see Appendix IV, List 3, I), ἀμύμων is used much as in Homer, in the same positions in the line, and in similar formulas. In one fragment it is said that Arsinoe "bore a son Asklepios, ἀμύμων and strong":

τίκτ' Ἀσκληπιὸν υἱὸν ἀμύμονά τε κρατερόν τε.

[Rzach fr. 87 (107); Loeb, p. 188]

The combination "ἀμύμων and strong" is familiar from the Iliad (see above, pp. 22, 51-54, and 65), and it recurs several more times in Hesiod. It is used again of Latinos, the son whom Kirke is supposed to have borne to Odysseus—Λατῖνον ἀμύμονά τε κρατερόν τε [Theogony 1013], and occurs in two papyrus fragments, both times again in genealogies.[1]

We find in addition a combination of formulas that does not happen to occur in Homer, but ἀμύμων is in its traditional position (see below, p. 102): "and ἀμύμων Kottos answered him again":

. . . τόν δ' ἐξαῦτις ἀμείβετο Κόττος ἀμύμων. [Theogony 654]

Kottos is one of three sons of Kronos chained under the earth because their father "was jealous of their great manhood (ἠνορέην; cf. on Bellerophontes, above p. 24) and beauty (εἶδος) and size (μέγεθος)":

ἠνορέην ὑπέροπλον ἀγώμενος ἠδὲ καὶ εἶδος
καὶ μέγεθος. [Theogony 619-620]

(see pp. 80-83, and below p. 83, n. 1), but it is perhaps confirmed here by καλλιστόν, which has a parallel semasiological development.

The literary evidence for the use of ἀμύμων outside Homer and for ἄμωμος and ἀμώμητος seemed sufficient to establish their ranges of meanings, so I have not discussed here the inscriptional evidence. Some exists, however, and a partial survey of it will be found in Appendix IV, List 6.

[1] Ox. Pap. 1358, fr. 1.14 and 1359, fr. 3.22; pp. 600 and 608 of the Loeb Classical Library text, edited by Evelyn-White. Evelyn-White here supplies Sarpedon in the first genealogy and Hyakinthos in the second. In the recently published fragments of Hesiod, edited by Lobel, ἀμύμων is restored in six places: 2481, fr. 1.11; 2481, fr. 5.7; 2484, fr. 2.18; 2485, fr. 1.29; 2487, fr. 1.3; and 2501.7, but since these are all conventional uses with proper names, and the contexts are too fragmentary to shed any new light on ἀμύμων, I have omitted them from consideration. Similarly ἀμώμητος is possible in 2496.10 and 2497.13, but even more uncertain than ἀμύμων.

Kottos and his brothers are what we would call monsters, for they have a hundred arms and fifty heads [Theogony 670-673], but evidently to Hesiod these features are a source of strength, not incompatible with εἶδος, and in any case ἀμύμων does not mean "pretty."

The Theogony also contains a little catalogue of the Nereids, "the fifty daughters of ἀμύμων Nereus, who were skilled in ἀμύμονα works":

αὗται μὲν Νηρῆος ἀμύμονος ἐξεγένοντο
κοῦραι πεντήκοντα, ἀμύμονα ἔργα ἰδυῖαι. [Theogony 263-264]

The last phrase, which occurs several times in Homer and will be discussed later (see below, pp. 96-99), appears again in Hesiod in a papyrus fragment, where a certain number of women skilled in ἀμύμονα works are apparently among the courting gifts offered for Helen—τοσσαύτας δὲ γυναῖκας ἀμύμονα ἔργα ἰδυίας [Berlin Pap. 9739, fr. 68.11; Loeb, p. 192]. Now all the Nereids are said to be μεγήρατα, very lovely [240]. In addition individual ones are called ἐρόεσσα, desirable [245]; ῥοδόπηχυς, rosy-armed [246 and 251]; χαρίεσσα, charming, graceful [247]; εὐειδής, shapely [250]; and χαρίεσσα δέμας, graceful in figure [260]; see also Euarne (below, p. 77). It is therefore reasonable to assume that their father Nereus is handsome when he is called ἀμύμων. The matter is not certain, however, because he is also described as truthful, trustworthy, gentle (ἤπιος; cf. Chap. II, p, 42, n. 1), mindful of righteousness, and just:

Νηρέα δ' ἀψευδέα καὶ ἀληθέα γείνατο Πόντος,
πρεσβύτατον παίδων· αὐτὰρ καλέουσι γέροντα,
οὕνεκα νημερτής τε καὶ ἤπιος, οὐδὲ θεμιστέων
λήθεται, ἀλλὰ δίκαια καὶ ἤπια δήνεα οἶδεν. [233-236]

Similar language, as we shall discover (see below, pp. 109-114 and 145), is used in association with ἀμύμων in a very few passages in the Odyssey, and it may be that both the Hesiodic and the Odyssean passages reflect the same late development towards a moral connotation in ἀμύμων.

The only other occurrences of ἀμύμων in Hesiod are both in the Shield of Herakles, and in both there is a strong presumption that ἀμύμων refers to physical rather than moral excellence. After describing the birth of Herakles, the poem proceeds to an exploit of his young manhood, when, together with his cousin Iolaos, he slays Kyknos, the son of Ares. As the cousins advance in a chariot,

"ἀμύμων Kyknos rejoiced"—κεχάρητο δὲ Κύκνος ἀμύμων [65]—for he hoped to slay Herakles. Nothing is said about Kyknos' looks in the brief episode, but he is called μεγάθυμος [57], an adjective associated with ἀμύμων in the Iliad (see Chap. I, p. 21, n. 1), and he is also said to be strong and tall—κρατερόν τε μέγαν τε [106] (cf. ἐύς, Chap. I, p. 15, n. 3). Moreover, we learn that after he was killed by Herakles, Apollo ordered a river to wash away his grave, because Kyknos had been in the habit of robbing hecatombs on their way to Delphi [477-480]. It is highly unlikely that anyone should be called "blameless" who was guilty of a crime that incurred so terrible (to a hero) a punishment as this, but Kyknos could well have been both impious and handsome.

In the other instance, Iolaos says that he thinks that Kyknos will flee at the approach of himself and Herakles, whom he refers to as the "two sons of ἀμύμων Alkeides"—δύο παῖδας ἀμύμονος 'Αλκεΐδαο [112]. Now Alkeides is Amphitryon, the grandfather of Iolaos, who is elsewhere called "the strong son of Alkaios"—ἐύς πάις 'Αλκαίοιο [26] and "a glorious hero"—ἀγλαὸς ἥρως [37]; ἐύς, ἀγλαός and ἥρως are all associated with ἀμύμων in the Iliad (see Chap. I, p. 21, n. 1; Chap. II, p. 44, n. 1 and p. 51, n. 3). Amphitryon, says Herakles, μέγ' . . . ἤλιτεν, deeply offended (see below, p. 129) the gods of Olympus by killing his father-in-law to get his cattle [79-82]. He can therefore scarcely be said to be "blameless" in the moral sense, but, as in the case of Kyknos, the other expressions used of him suggest that ἀμύμων refers to his appearance, although he is not otherwise called handsome.

The other two adjectives, ἄμωμος and ἀμώμητος, occur only four times in Hesiod. Among the Nereids in the afore-mentioned catalogue is Euarne, said to be lovely in stature (φυὴν ἐρατή) and ἄμωμος in appearance, or beauty (εἶδος):

Εὐάρνη τε φυήν τ' ἐρατὴ καὶ εἶδος ἄμωμος. [Theogony 259]

Here, because of the accusative of specification, ἄμωμος clearly means "flawless." In the Shield of Herakles, Iolaos is once called ἀμώμητος, in a simple formula of answering (cf. on ἀμύμων Kottos, above pp. 75-76):

τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν ἀμώμητος 'Ιόλαος. [Shield 102]

Iolaos is not adorned with any other adjectives referring to his beauty in this poem, but neither is there anything in the context to

suggest that ἀμώμητος should be translated "blameless";[1] he and Herakles are merely discussing their imminent attack on Kyknos.

The remaining two occurrences of ἀμώμητος in Hesiod, both in fragments, are most plausibly taken as referring to looks. In one Telamon saves his comrades by killing the man-slaying Amazon, ἀμώμητος Melanippe:

> ἡμετέροις ἑτάροισι φόως πρώτιστος ἔθηκε
> κτείνας ἀνδρολέτειραν ἀμώμητον Μελανίππην.
>
> [Rzach fr. 278 (174); Loeb, p. 282]

In the other there is listed among the suitors of Helen, "Aias, the ἀμώμητος warrior from Salamis":

> Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἀμώμητος πολεμιστής.
>
> [Berlin Pap. 10560.55; Loeb, p. 196]

Certainty is impossible in these three cases, but Iolaos is at least as likely to have been "handsome" as "blameless," Melanippe more likely, and Aias, in view of the comparisons between him and ἀμύμων Achilleus in Homer (see above, p. 67 and below pp. 122-125), very likely.

In the surviving fragments of the Epic Cycle, we have only ἀμύμων, used only once. The scholiast on Euripides' Phoenissae [1750] tells us that those who wrote the Oidipodia say about the Sphinx that she killed "splendid Haimon, the dear son of ἀμύμων Kreion (and) the most beautiful (κάλλιστον) and the loveliest of (all) the rest":

> ἀλλ' ἔτι κάλλιστόν τε καὶ ἱμεροέστατον ἄλλων,
> παῖδα φίλον Κρείοντος ἀμύμονος Αἵμονα δῖον. [Loeb, p. 482]

Those who persist in trying to make Kreion the hero of Sophocles' Antigone no doubt would prefer "blameless" here, but, in view of the emphasis on his son's beauty, the reference is surely to Kreion's looks.

In the Homeric hymns ἀμύμων is used twice and ἀμώμητος once. In the hymn to Demeter there is a list of the chief men in Eleusis which includes ἀμύμων Eumolpos:

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[1] Lattimore, *Hesiod*, p. 197 in fact translates ἀμώμητος here by "the handsome," although he had used "blameless" for the single occurrence in Homer [XII.105], and for ἀμύμων in the Shield of Herakles, line 112.

ἠδὲ Πολυξείνου καὶ ἀμύμονος Εὐμόλποιο. [H.h. II.154]

The only other epithets in this list are πυκιμηδής, wise [153] (which is used only once in Homer [1.438]), and ἀγήνωρ, valiant [155]; and Eumolpos is referred to only once again in the hymn, by the formula "the might of Eumolpos" (Εὐμόλπου τε βίηι [475]; cf. on Teukros, Chap. II, p. 57, end of n. 1). Hence it is hard to tell whether ἀμύμων refers only to Eumolpos' looks or whether it has a developed meaning of "brave," or even of "good" in some vague sense, but there is certainly no reason to suppose that it means specifically "blameless."

In the hymn to Apollo, the poet describes how Hera kept the goddess of childbirth, Eilithyia, from going to aid Leto, "when beautiful-haired Leto was about to bear a son ἀμύμων and strong":

. . . ὅτ' ἄρ' υἱὸν ἀμύμονά τε κρατερόν τε
Λητὼ τέξεσθαι καλλιπλόκαμος τότ' ἔμελλεν.
[H.h. III. 100-101]

The usage of ἀμύμων is here unique in that it refers to a god, but otherwise is similar to Homeric passages in which ἀμύμων refers to the physical beauty of men (see, for example on Thetis and Peleus and on Thetis and Achilleus, pp. 17-21 and 65 above).

The single instance of ἀμώμητος occurs in the hymn to the Dioskouroi. The poet asks the Muse to sing of "horse-taming (ἱππόδαμος) Kastor and ἀμώμητος Polydeukes, the glorious (ἀγλαά) children of fair-ankled Leda":

. . . Λήδης καλλισφύρου ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
Κάστορά θ' ἱππόδαμον καὶ ἀμώμητον Πολυδεύκεα.
[H.h. XXXIII.2-3]

To translate ἀμώμητος as "blameless" here makes an odd collocation with the surrounding epithets, especially with ἱππόδαμος. Moreover, Hesiod refers to "strong" (κρατερός) Polydeukes [Berlin Pap. 9739.13; Loeb, p. 192]; and in four other places we have a line identical to the one in the hymn, except that twice ἀεθλοφόρος, prize-winning, is used instead of ἀμώμητος, and twice πὺξ ἀγαθόν, good at boxing.[1] In view of these parallels, it is most probable that

[1] In Hesiod, Catalogues of Women, we find: Κάσ[τ]ορ[ί θ' ἱ]πποδάμωι καὶ ἀεθλοφόρωι Πολυδεύκει [Berlin Pap. 9739.27, Loeb p. 194, 1.27]; this same line, except in the accusative rather than the dative, recurs in the Cypria, according to the scholiast on Pindar, Nemea X, 114 [Loeb, p. 502, 12]. Both instances of πὺξ ἀγαθόν occur in Homer: Κάστορά θ' ἱππόδαμον καὶ πὺξ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεύκεα [III.237 = 11.300]. For another connection between boxing and ἀμύμων, see on the Phaiakians, pp. 119-120.

ἀμώμητος refers to Polydeukes' physical prowess, if not specifically to his appearance.

In The Battle of the Frogs and Mice, perhaps composed in the early fifth century, only ἀμύμων of the three words is used, five times. It is the fashion in some quarters to sneer at this work, but actually it is, in a modest way, quite an expert parody of some of the more superficial aspects, at least, of the content and language of Homer (and probably of the poets of the Epic Cycle). Three of the instances of ἀμύμων are merely imitations of its use in Homer with a proper name in a catalogue [226, 230, and 261] and useless for our purposes, but the other two instances, though unhomeric, are interesting. In one ἀμύμων is used of a helmet—τρυφάλειαν ἀμύμονα καὶ τετράχυτρον [255]. A helmet happens never to be called ἀμύμων in Homer, but the phrase may well be modelled on a formula from one of the poems in the Epic Cycle, though the remains are too scanty to allow more than a guess.[1]

In the second case a λόγος, speech, is called ἀμύμων [144]. Now this use of λόγος is quite foreign to Homer,[2] but even if the phrase is a confused imitation of αἶνος ἀμύμων, which occurs once in the Odyssey [14.508], it is hard to see exactly what it is supposed to

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[1] In Homer the regular epithet for τρυφάλεια is αὐλῶπις, but one is called φαεινή [X.76], and another καλή [22.183]. It is easily conceivable that ἀμύμων might come to be used of any well-made and handsome piece of equipment; cf. on Archilochus' shield (p. 84) and on Teukros' bow (p. 100). For further remarks on the adaptation of Homeric formulae in the *Batrachomyomachia* see Kirk, "Formular Language," pp. 161-163.

[2] Λόγος occurs only twice in Homer; once of Patroklos tending the wounded Eurypylos: τὸν ἔτερπε λόγοις [XV.393]; and once of Kalypso keeping Odysseus on her island: αἰεὶ δὲ μαλακοῖσι καὶ αἱμυλίοισι λόγοισι / θέλγει [1.56-57]. In both places λόγος is universally assumed to be a late intrusion in place of μῦθος, ἔπος, the usual Homeric expressions for "talk, speech"; but to me it seems that a special kind of words is meant; for the first passage perhaps something like "incantations" with which Patroklos accompanies the soothing drugs (φάρμακ' ἀκέσματα) [XV.394] which he puts on Euryplos' wound. In the second passage too, there is a strong suggestion of magic. Kalypso is described as the daughter of the wizard (ὀλοόφρονος) Atlas [1.52]; θέλγω in Homer most often means "cast a spell on," often with sound or words (it is used of the Sirens, for instance [12.40 and 44]); αἱμυλίοισι is a *hapax* in Homer, but recurs in a Homeric Hymn [IV.317], and in Hesiod [Theogony.908 and Works and Days.374], always with some suggestion of beguilement. It may be added that in Homer λέγω does not mean simply "speak," but "tell off, enumerate," a meaning which would be suitable to "incantation" (the same kind of connection exists between the English verb "to spell" and the noun "spell" meaning "set of magic words").

mean.[1] But it is quite easy to see what it *cannot* mean, and that is "blameless," for the situation is as follows. As the frogs are wondering why armed mice are approaching them, a herald mouse arrives and announces that they are taking vengeance for a mouse who was drowned by the king of the frogs [139-144]. This is the speech referred to as ἀμύμων. As soon as it penetrates the frogs' minds, they begin criticizing (μεμφομένων) [146] their king. He rises, claims (falsely) that he did not kill any mouse, and complains, "these wretches are blaming me who am not to blame": [2]

> . . . οἱ δὲ κάκιστοι
> νῦν ἐμὲ μέμφονται τὸν ἀναίτιον [149-150]

The Alexandrine epic poet, Apollonius Rhodius, used ἀμύμων once, in the Argonautica, and the other two words not at all. It is said that Aietes "once received ἀμύμων Phrixos, when he was fleeing from the treacherous attempt of his father and step-mother to sacrifice him":

> . . . ὁ δὲ καί ποτ' ἀμύμονα Φρίξον ἔδεκτο
> μητρυιῆς φεύγοντα δόλον πατρός τε θυηλάς. [III.190-191]

Nothing is said in the whole poem about Phrixos' looks, but, in another reference to his reception by Aietes, it is said that he "surpassed all strangers (or guests) in gentleness (μειλιχίῃ; cf. Chap. II, p. 42, n. 2) and fear of the gods":

> . . . ὅς περὶ πάντων
> ξείνων μειλιχίῃ τε θεουδείῃ τ' ἐκέκαστο. [III.585-586]

Since an ἀμύμων king is described as θεουδής, god-fearing, in the Odyssey (see below, pp. 109-112), it is a fair conjecture that Apol-

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[1] Either loosely "a fine speech," referring to the formal nature of the heraldic announcement, or "a heroic speech," because it announces war, is possible. In either case αἶνος is closer to its later meaning of "story, fable" not to the Homeric meaning "praise" (see p. 107).

[2] Here the idiom for blaming someone who is not at fault is recognizably analogous to the Homeric one (see p. 51), although it has two unhomeric features: the use of the article in τὸν ἀναίτιον for "the one who is blameless"; and the substitution of μέμφονται for αἰτιόωνται (μέμφομαι does not occur in Homer, except in the compound ἐπιμέμφομαι, which is always used with the meaning "complain (about the lack of something which one has a right to expect)" [I.65 ∾ I.93, II.225, 16.97 ∾ 16.115]). Of course, the blaming here is done by the frogs, not by the mouse who uttered the ἀμύμων speech, but even so it would require a far more inept poet than the author of the Batrachomyomachia to use ἀμύμων of the speech which precipitated this blame, if ἀμύμων meant "blameless," in any sense.

lonius thought that ἀμύμων in Homer meant "good" in a moral sense, perhaps mistaking, as modern lexicographers sometimes do, an unusual meaning for the regular one. But even so, this does not mean that ἀμύμων ever meant "underserving of blame," for the meaning "morally good" could easily have developed from the meaning "physically beautiful," just as it did in the case of καλός.

On the other hand, the much later Quintus Smyrnaeus, who would ordinarily be out of court for a study of this kind because of his date (perhaps fourth century, A.D.), imitates the Homeric use of ἀμύμων rather well, as he does in general all Homeric language, although, naturally, with some lapses.[1] In his poem, The Fall of Troy, we find ἀμύμων, at least twenty-three times, in catalogue passages, associated with the same adjectives as in Homer, and almost always in the correct Homeric position in the line.[2] The characters called ἀμύμων by Quintus are: Achilleus (five times); Theseus (twice); Poias, the father of Philoktetes, (twice); then once each: Agamemnon, Aias, Aineias, Anchises, Asteropaios, Boukolion, Hippomedon, Mentes, Molos, Odysseus, and Teukros; it will be seen that there is considerable agreement with the Iliad.[3]

That Quintus thought of ἀμύμων as referring primarily to physical beauty and strength is indicated clearly by the fact that many of the characters whom he describes as ἀμύμων, he also describes elsewhere as ἀντίθεος, θεοειδής, κρατερός, or as beautiful and strong in assorted other words; especial stress is laid on the beauty of Achilleus. The case of Aias is particularly clear, because not only is he called ἀντίθεος, and not only is the fact that he is second to Achilleus in strength and beauty emphasized, but he is called ἀμύμων just after his suicide, for which he is blamed by Teukros, Tekmessa, Agamemnon, and Odysseus, although all speak more in sorrow than in anger. It is noteworthy also that among the characters who are called ἀμύμων by Homer, but not by Quintus, there are at least two whom Quintus adorns with adjectives refer-

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[1] For remarks on Quintus' language see the two recent studies by Vian-Paschal, pp. 22-40; and Mansur, pp. 73-78.

[2] I may easily have missed some instances of ἀμύμων since Quintus is hard to read with unflagging attention, but the instances cited in Appendix IV, List 4, II, A. are sufficient to show the similarities between Quintus' use of ἀμύμων and Homer's.

[3] The Boukolion called ἀμύμων by Quintus is not the same person as Homer's, but the combination of name and epithet may well have been suggested to Quintus by Homer's passage [VI.22] (see p. 20).

ring to their bodies: Telamon (see below, p. 125), whom he calls ἀντίθεος (see Chap. I, p. 18, n. 1), and Bellerophontes (see above, pp. 22-28), whom he calls κραταιός (strong); see Appendix IV, List 4, II. C.

Four times Quintus uses ἀμύμων to refer not to physical, but to moral qualities, and these passages are particularly important, because it is obvious from them that Quintus did not connect ἀμύμων with μῶμος or any form of blame, but was only extending the idea of excellence from the physical and concrete to the moral and abstract, just as Apollonius may have done, and as Homer himself does in a few passages.[1]

Quintus uses ἀμώμητος thrice, always referring to physical beauty, and once with the accusative of respect (see Appendix IV, List 4, II. B). Two passages refer to the Amazon queen Penthesilea, whose beauty Quintus dwells on in a number of passages. In one he says that the queen outshines others, just as the dawn outshines in radiant beauty (ἀγλαὸν εἶδος; see Chap. II, p. 51, n. 3) all the hours, ἀμώμητοι though they are [I.50-51]. In the other he says that Penthesilea was ἀμώμητος as to size (μέγεθος), and εἶδος, beauty, (cf. the passage from Aeschylus, below, p. 86):

. . . μέγεθός τε καὶ εἶδος
ἔπλετ' ἀμώμητος [I.673-674]

The third passage refers to Helen, of whom he says: the people collected round and wondered at the radiance (ἀγλαΐην; see Appendix II, List 9, E, 4a-e) and desirable loveliness (κάλλος ἐπήρατον) of the ἀμώμητος woman [XIV.57-59]. In all three passages, especially the one quoted here, it is clear that ἀμώμητος means physically flawless.

In the Argonautica which has come down to us among the

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[1] These passages are marked with ╪ in Appendix IV, List 4, II. A. The first, 5, is a kind of epitaph for Achilleus as the Myrmidons lament around his corpse. The second, 10, is Odysseus' statment about the three whom he and Aias agree to accept as judges in the contest for the arms of Achilleus. The third, 19, is Odysseus' reply to Neoptolemos when he has objected to the scheme of the wooden horse on the grounds that brave men fight face to face. The fourth, 23, is the advice given to Neoptolemos by the ghost of Achilleus. In none of these is there a connection with μῶμος or with any form of blame. The first is clearly an adaptation of the ideal king passages in the Odyssey (see pp. 109-117, and 145), and the last three are simple extensions from the connotations of bravery which ἀμύμων already possessed in the Iliad as we have seen (pp. 60-61 and 69).

Orphic fragments, one of the heroes who assemble for the expedition is called ἄμωμος, Phlias, whom a nymph bore to Bacchos: "she bore (him) having an ἄμωμος form (δέμας) and a wise intelligence"—τίκτεν ἄμωμον ἔχοντα δέμας καὶ ἐπίφρονα μῆτιν [196]. Again it is here plain that ἄμωμος means "physically flawless." (See Appendix IV, List 4, III.)

In Greek lyric and iambic poetry, ἀμύμων, ἄμωμος and ἀμώμητος are used only a handful of times (see Appendix IV, List 5). Archilochus calls the shield that he left in a bush ἔντος ἀμώμητον, a handsome shield [Fr. 6.2].[1] Anacreon complains to his lover: "you have cut off the ἄμωμος bloom of your soft hair": [2]

ἀπέκειρας δ' ἁπαλῆς κόμης ἄμωμον ἄνθος [*PGM* 414]

In both these fragments the reference of ἀμώμητος and ἄμωμος is clearly physical, but ἄμωμος in another fragment of early poetry has proved more puzzling.

Stobaeus quotes a number of lines from Semonides, all dealing with the uncertainties of human life; one of these runs: "no one is altogether ἄμωμος or ἀκήριος":

πάμπαν δ' ἄμωμος οὔτις οὐδ' ἀκήριος. [Fr. 4]

It is customary to render this along these lines: "No one is altogether harmless or unharmed." [3] But this active meaning of

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[1] Here ἀμώμητος seems to me to do no more than refer to the physical beauty of the shield (cf. ἀμύμων used of a bow, p. 100 and appended note but most interpretations stress the abstract sense possible in the derivation from μῶμος. Thus Lattimore, *Greek Lyrics*, Chicago, 1949, p. 1, renders: "a perfectly good piece of equipment," and Edmonds, *EI*, II, p. 101, "poor blameless armament." Page, "Archilochus," p. 132 comments that "there is no trace of the contemporary in the phrasing, except the use of a traditional epithet, ἀμώμητον, in a significant manner," but his following analysis gives no clue to what this exceptional significance might be.

[2] In this passage, I would judge, Anacreon uses ἄμωμος simply as "beautiful," without any strong sense of flawlessness. For a good discussion of the meaning of ἄνθος see Stanford, *Metaphor*, pp. 111-114.

[3] For example, LSJ cites this fragment under ἀκήριος, which it renders "harmless," quite unjustifiably. Edmonds, *EI*, Loeb, vol. II, p. 214 translates: "No man is altogether without blame nor without harm," which is ambiguous and which does not seem to square with his comment (n. 3): "meaning of ἀκήριος uncertain, but as ἄμωμος refers to what he does, it prob. refers to what happens to him; *lit.* unaffected by the Κῆρες or Doom-Spirits." This literal interpretation of ἀκήριος is clearly right, and it is hard to see why Edmonds waters it down to "without harm" in his translation. His assertion that ἄμωμος is active is neither justified nor borne out by his translation. Diehl, Fasc. 3, p. 51, simply refers to Hesychius *s.v.* ἄμωμος.

ἄμωμος is quite unparalleled, and ἀκήριος really means "free from death" (cf. Odyssey 12.98 and 23.328), so there are two main possibilities. One is that ἄμωμος is specifically physical and Semonides means that no mortal is exempt from ugliness (i.e. of death) or from death; compare Aphrodite's remark about Anchises, which expresses the same idea in conditional form.[1] The other is that ἄμωμος means more generally "free from fault" (both physical and otherwise). Then the fragment refers to the fact that, since men are imperfect, no one escapes criticism any more than one does death; compare Simonides' use of πανάμωμος and Bacchylides' statement about μῶμος (Appendix IV, List 1, 4a and 7). In the absence of a context, it is impossible to decide between these alternatives, but in either case, the relation of ἄμωμος to μῶμος is clear.

Pindar uses both ἀμύμων and ἀμώμητος, once each, but not ἄμωμος. Once, in an adaptation of the ordinary Iliadic usage, he says that Herakles "slew ἀμύμων Kteatos"—πέφνε Κτέατον ἀμύμονα [*O.* X(XI).27].[2] The other instance is more complex. In a passage devoted to criticism of slander and flattery, Rhadamanthys is held up as a good example: "Rhadamanthys was fortunate because he reaped ἀμώμητος fruit of the mind and did not indulge himself in deceits, such as always follow a man through the devices of whisperers":

> . . . ὁ δὲ Ῥαδάμανθυς εὖ πέπραγεν, ὅτι φρένων
> ἔλαχε καρπὸν ἀμώμητον, οὐδ' ἀπάταισι θυμὸν τέρπεται ἔνδοθεν,
> οἷα ψιθύρων παλάμαις ἕπετ' αἰεὶ βροτῷι. [*P.* II.73-75]

Here the primary meaning of ἀμώμητος is "free from μῶμος," since Rhadamanthys' virtue consists of not indulging in the deceitful and critical gossip so common among mankind, but the word has

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[1] For Aphrodite's remark see p. 17. The idea is, of course, a commonplace in Greek poetry. Homer's equivalents for Semonides' ἄμωμος and ἀκήριος are regularly ἀγήρος, ageless, and ἀθάνατος, immortal; see VIII.539, XII.323, XVII.444, 5.136 = 7.257 = 23.336, 5.218, and 7.94.

[2] Gildersleeve, *Pindar*, comments (*ad loc.*): "Physically. Such an ἀμύμων was Absalom, 2 Sam. 14.25: From the sole of his foot even to the crown of his head there was no blemish in him. Such an ἀμύμων was Aigisthos, Od. 1.29." In short, Gildersleeve long ago knew what others have managed to obscure; even though his premise that ἀμύμων is connected with μῶμος = blemish is questionable (see p. 91), still he had clearly grasped that ἀμύμων in Homer refers to physical beauty.

also, since it modifies "fruit" (however metaphorical a fruit), an overtone of "physically without blemish." [1]

Bacchylides uses only ἀμώμητος, only once. In the mythological part of a victory ode for Hieron, the ghost of Meleager appears to Herakles in Hades and describes to him how he died just as he was on point of "slaying Klymenos, the brave (ἄλκιμος; see Chap. II, p. 45, n. 1) son of Daipylos, (who was) ἀμώμητος in form (δέμας)":

Δαϊπύλου Κλύμενον
παῖδ' ἄλκιμον ἐξεναρί-
ζων ἀμώμητον δέμας [Epi. V.147]

Here the use of the accusative of specification, "in form," makes it certain that ἀμώμητος means "(physically) flawless"; compare Hesiod's phrase εἶδος ἄμωμος (p. 77 above).

Aeschylus uses ἄμωμος with an analogous construction, the dative of specification, in a passage where the reference of ἄμωμος is clearly physical. In the Persians, the queen relates a dream in which she saw two women, extraordinary in size (μεγέθει) and ἀμώμω in beauty (κάλλει):

μεγέθει τε τῶν νῦν ἐκπρεπεστάτα πολύ,
κάλλει τ' ἀμώμω [184-185]

None of our three words appears again in extant Attic tragedy.

Nor does Aristophanes use any of the three (except ἀμώμητος in a quotation of Archilochus' fragment [Peace 1299]), but we find ἀμύμων twice in the fragments of Attic comedy. In a passage on wines from Hermippus, a character says, "I judge these two [Thasian and Magnesian wines] to be far the best of all other wines, after ἀμύμων Chian, which never gives you a hangover (ἄλυπον)":

τούτω ἐγὼ κρίνω πολὺ πάντων εἶναι ἀρίστω
τῶν ἄλλων οἴνων, μετ' ἀμύμονα Χῖον ἄλυπον
[Edmonds, *FAC*, I, 308]

[1] Cf. Burton, pp. 123-134, especially p. 127. Snell, *LdfgE*, 704.3-4 defines ἀμώμητος here as "tadel mitt der Nuance des Spotts." Derision is certainly involved in the μῶμος from which Rhadamanthys is free, but this nuance seems less prominent in the specific context of ἀμώμητος fruit than that of "without blemish." But Franzjosef Schuh, who is responsible for the article on ἀμώμητος seems entirely unaware that the word has a physical reference anywhere. The etymology is given as from μωμάομαι; ἀμώμητος is defined as "*untadelig, lobenswert*," and is said to be used "einer, an dessen Handlungsweise nichts zu tadeln ist, dem die anderen gerechterweise nichts vorwerfen können"; III.410, 412 (see p. 33) is irrelevantly adduced as a parallel; the Bacchylides passage (see above), in which the physical connotation is unmistakable, is not cited.

Here the presence of ἄλυπον might seem to justify taking ἀμύμων as "blameless," but the passage is evidently a parody of the Homeric passages in which a hero is compared in beauty to another (see above, p. 67, and below, pp. 118, 124-126), so that ἀμύμων more probably refers to the physical beauty of wine (i.e. to its color and especially to its bouquet, which the following lines describe).

In the prologue of the Nereus by Anaxandrides, we are told that it was Nereus who was the first to find, among other eatables from the sea, "the body (δέμας) of the ἀμύμων tuna-fish"—τοῦ τ' ἀμύμονος δέμας / θύννου [Edmonds, *FAC*, II, 56]. Obviously, ἀμύμων is more likely to refer to the size, strength, and beauty of the tuna's body than to some indefinable aspect of its "blamelessness."

In Bucolic poetry, ἄμωμος occurs once and ἀμύμων twice, both words probably referring to physical appearance. In Theocritus' Epithalamy of Helen, it is said that of all her girl companions, not one is so ἄμωμος as to be in a class with her:

τᾶν οὐδ' ἆν τις ἄμωμος, ἐπεὶ χ' Ἑλέναι παρισωθῆι [XVIII.25]

Helen is then addressed as ὦ καλά, ὦ χαρίεσσα κόρα, oh beautiful, oh lovely maiden [38].

Moschus, in his poem on Europa, says that Zeus in bull-form, "stood before the feet of ἀμύμων Europa":

στῆ δὲ ποδῶν προπάροιθεν ἀμύμονος Εὐρωπείης [II.93]

Europa is earlier called περικαλλέος, very lovely. In the third instance the reference is not so obviously to looks as in the first two. In the Megara, attributed by some to Moschus, and some to Theocritus, Megara, the wife of Herakles, laments that she is ill-fated since she came to the bed of her ἀμύμων husband:

δύσμορος, ἥτ' ἐπεὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀμύμονος ἐς λέχος ἦλθον [Megara. 8]

Here ἀμύμων can hardly mean "blameless," for Megara is in the midst of complaining about the dishonor and sorrows she has suffered because Herakles went mad and murdered their children, although she insists also that she respects and reverences him still [10]. Herakles' appearance is not elsewhere mentioned in the poem, but his heroic endurance is praised throughout by both Megara and his mother Alkmene, the other speaker in the poem. It is possible, then, that ἀμύμων here has its wider signification, strong, heroic, etc., although there is no reason why it should not mean merely "handsome."

In the Palatine Anthology, there is an anonymous poem addressed to a boy with malformed feet. The poet first quotes the proverb that the gods do not give all things to anyone, and then illustrates: "For ἄμωμος (is your) appearance (εἶδος)"—εἶδος μὲν γὰρ ἄμωμον [XII.96.3]. The poet goes on to say that the boy's eyes and breast are beautiful, but that the gods did not give the same beauty (χάρις) to his feet. The context here makes plain that ἄμωμος means either specifically "physically flawless" or more generally "beautiful."

Dionysius "Periegetes," who wrote in hexameter verses a geographical description of the inhabited world, uses ἀμύμων twice. Once he says that around the stream of the Atlantic live "the pious (θεουδέες) Aithiopians, ἀμύμονες sons of the Makrobians":

θεουδέες Αἰθιοπῆες
Μακροβίων υἷηες ἀμύμονες [559-560]

Dionysius may call the Aithiopians ἀμύμονες simply because Homer does, without understanding its meaning any better than we do (see above, pp. 13-14, Chap. I, p. 14, n. 1) or it may be that, like Apollonius Rhodius, who also uses ἀμύμων in association with θεουδής (see above, pp. 80-83), he simply took ἀμύμων as "morally good." The first hypothesis seems the more probable one in the light of the second instance. There Dionysius says that towards the south live the tribes of the proud (ἀγαυός; cf. Chap. II, p. 50, n. 1) Medes, who were descended from "the daughter of Aietes, the ἀμύμων heroine"—Αἰήταο θυγατρός, ἀμύμονος ἡρωίνης [1022]. Medea's legend is so lurid that she could scarcely be called "blameless," whatever version of her story Dionysius may have had in mind, but she could certainly be called "beautiful."

Before summing up the results of our survey, we may perhaps notice the Danaid called Amymone (ἀμύμων + the feminine ending -η),[1] whose story is told in several late sources [Apollodoros II.1.4 and 5; Hyginus 168-169; and the scholia on both Iliad IV.171 and Euripides' Phoenissae, 187-188]. The story is a simple one of familiar pattern: while Amymone and her sisters were in Argos, she used to fetch water; one day Poseidon saw and seduced her; with his trident he created a spring, also called Amymone (see Callimachos, Aitia fr. 66.7 and Hymn V.48), and in due course she

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[1] Cf. the proper name 'Αμύμονες, on which see *Glotta* XVII (1929), 159.

produced a son (Nauplios). As in the cases of the women loved by gods whom Odysseus sees in Hades (see below, pp. 122-124), her beauty is clearly implied by the story; as it happens, it is also explicitly mentioned twice. In Euripides' Orestes Electra makes a bitter comment on the evil effects of human beauty (in connection with Helen) [127]. The scholiast on the line cites Ganymedes and Amymone. Of the latter he says: "And Amymone also through her personal beauty made dry Argos well-watered because of her union with Poseidon":

> καὶ Ἀμυμώνη δὲ διὰ τὸ ἴδιον κάλλα τὸ ἄνυδρον Ἄργος πολύυδρον ἐποίησε διὰ τῆς ἐπιμιξίας τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος. [Schwartz, I, 110]

Lucian dramatizes the seduction of Amymone in one of his Dialogues of the Sea-Gods (Loeb, VII, 204-210). The dialogue opens with an exchange between Poseidon and Triton, in which Triton tells Poseidon that there is a girl who comes every day to Lerna to fetch water, and that she is "a very pretty little thing—I don't know that I've ever seen a prettier girl"—πάγκαλόν τι χρῆμα· οὐκ οἶδα ἔγωγε καλλίω παῖδα ἰδών [*D. Mar.* 8(6).1]. They go to see her; Poseidon agrees that she is indeed beautiful (καλή) [*D. Mar.* 8(6).3]; and the seduction proceeds. Another testimony to the beauty of Amymone comes from a poem in the Palatine Anthology on a statue of her and Poseidon in which she is called ῥοδοδάκτυλος, rosy-fingered; (cf. ῥοδόπηχυς of a Nereid, above, p. 76) [II.61]. In sum, it is possible, even likely, that Amymone is one of the significant names common in Greek mythology. If so, surely "beautiful" is a more plausible significance than "blameless."

On the basis of the preceding survey, we are now in a position to draw some firm conclusions both about the meaning of ἀμώμητος and ἄμωμος and about the relation between them and ἀμύμων. We found seventeen instances of the first two adjectives, to which should be added the instances previously adduced in Appendix IV, Lists 1 and 2 (see above, p. 74, n. 1). The usage of ἀμώμητος and ἄμωμος lends considerable support to the hypothesis that μῶμος originally meant "physical flaw," for the meaning "flawless" is possible in all the passages in which these two words occur, occasionally with an unmistakable reference to physical beauty, almost always with a strong probability of such a reference. Particularly decisive are the instances in which ἄμωμος and ἀμώμητος are used with the accusative or dative of specification: in Hesiod

(p. 77), in Quintus (pp. 83-84), in Bacchylides (p. 86), and in Aeschylus (p. 71); for in these passages the meaning "flawless" as to some physical attribute is incontrovertibly clear. But ἄμωμος and ἀμώμητος are not used exclusively as "flawless" in the strict sense. They show definite extensions in two directions. First, they may mean simply "handsome" or "beautiful" as in Hesiod (p. 77), in the Homeric hymns (p. 79), in Archilochus, and in Anacreon (both p. 84). We are now in a position to return to a problem which we left unsolved earlier, namely the application of ἀμώμητος to Poulydamas in the Iliad (see above, pp. 48-50). Since ἀμώμητος in authors from Hesiod to Quintus usually refers to physical appearance, it is likely that in Homer also ἀμώμητος has nothing to do with moral blamelessness, but refers to Poulydamas' physical beauty.

The other development shown by both ἄμωμος and ἀμώμητος is towards an abstract sense of "free from μῶμος" in one or more of the senses attested for μῶμος. In the preceding survey only the Pindaric passage about Rhadamanthys (see above, p. 85 and n. 2) shows this sense clearly, but the passages cited earlier in connection with μῶμος display it with equal or greater clarity, so it will be worthwhile to review them briefly here.

Simonides of Ceos uses an intensified form of ἄμωμος, πανάμωμος, to refer to someone (hypothetical) who is free from all flaws, both physical and moral, and with whom, therefore, no fault can be found (see Appendix IV, List 1, 4a). Herodotos uses both the adjective ἄμωμος and the adverb ἀμωμήτως (only here in Greek), with reference to a law and government respectively (IV, 1, 11 a and b). In both passages the connotations of μῶμος as fault-finding are clear. One of the epigrams of the Planudean Appendix to the Palatine Anthology uses ἀμώμητος in a way that involves a pun on at least two senses of μῶμος (IV, List 2, 5 a). The author of the treatise On the Sublime uses ἀμώμητος of a poem which one can find no fault with because it is free from flaws (IV, 2, 6). Two late technical works use ἄμωμος in a double sense of "without physical flaw" and "free from blame" in an abstract sense (VI, 2, 9 b and 12); in the first of these (Artemidorus), the blame involved is for illegitimacy of birth. It should be noticed particularly that in all these instances not only is the kind of blame implied consonant with the meanings which μῶμος and its verbs have in Greek, but the relevance and precise significance of ἄμωμος or

ἀμώμητος, as the case may be, is immediately obvious from the context.

Now let us consider ἀμύμων against this background. At first sight it seems similar enough in usage to ἀμώμητος and ἄμωμος to be considered, like them, a derivative of μῶμος. It was no doubt this superficial similarity, as well as the general likeness in sound between the three words, that led the early lexicographers to define all three in terms of each other and in terms of other words meaning "blameless" (see above, p. 72, n. 2). As for the modern etymologers, it is evident that they tacitly rely on the meaning "physical flaw" for μῶμος to account for the many instances where ἀμύμων undeniably refers to physical appearance, although they continue to insist simultaneously that the main connotation of ἀμύμων is "(morally) blameless." [1]

On closer inspection, however, the derivation of ἀμύμων from μῶμος is open to serious question, because ἀμύμων shows at least two decisive differences from ἄμωμος and ἀμώμητος. In the first place ἀμύμων is used about six times more frequently than the other two adjectives put together, yet never once, in the almost one hundred instances which we have examined, is it used with the accusative or dative of respect, as ἄμωμος and ἀμώμητος are in four out of seventeen occurrences. In other words: the translation "free from μῶμος" (in the sense of "physical flaw") is never required for ἀμύμων in almost one hundred occurrences, whereas for the other two words it is demanded almost a fourth of the time. If one approaches the matter with an open mind, is it really credible, in the face of this discrepancy, that ἀμύμων is derived from μῶμος?

The second consideration is that, in the passages where ἀμύμων shows an abstract meaning, it is impossible to demonstrate the relevance of any connotation of μῶμος. We have still to examine all the passages in Homer where ἀμύμων has a non-physical reference, so this consideration is not yet conclusive. But we have seen ἀμύμων

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[1] Since the *LdfgE* is still in the middle of *alpha*, it will be some years before one can ascertain what meaning it assigns to μῶμος. Mette *s.v.* ἀμύμων merely says, in the section on etymology (644.62): "zu μῶμος (s.d., vgl. ἄμωμος)," without elucidation of the meaning (the article on ἄμωμος, predictably, refers one, 704.20, in a circle to μῶμος, ἀμώμητος, and ἀμύμων, again without explanation). Frisk defines ἀμύμων as "edel, herrlich, trefflich, schön," (I.97), but insists both here and under μῶμος (p. 284) that it is "eig. 'untadelig'," and appears to recognize the meaning "physical blemish" (Makel) only in late prose of blemishes on sacrificial victims. See further Conclusion, p. 156, n. 1.

used with some sort of moral meaning by Hesiod (of Nereus, p. 75), by Apollonius Rhodius (pp. 82-83), by Quintus (see p. 83 and n. 1), by Dionysius "Periegetes" (p. 88), and by Plutarch (see above, p. 74, n. 1). In none of these passages is the meaning "free from μῶμος" as clear as it is in the comparable instances of ἄμωμος and ἀμώμητος used in abstract senses.

All in all, there are good grounds for a suspicion that the notion of a connection between ἀμύμων and μῶμος is only the product of the etymological fancies so dear to the early scholiasts and lexicographers. Instead of attempting to shore up what is no more than a guess by the dubiously attested phonological links provided by Lycophron and Hesychius (see above, pp. 71-72), it would seem wiser to admit frankly that the derivation of ἀμύμων is completely unknown, as is that of many other Greek words.

If we abandon the problem of the etymology of ἀμύμων as insoluble, that does not, of course, necessitate ignorance about its meaning. We have already seen that in the Iliad, ἀμύμων is used most frequently of people, typically of warriors, most often in traditional passages such as genealogies, catalogues, battle vignettes and so on. *Prima facie,* therefore, we should expect ἀμύμων to be comparable in meaning to the other adjectives with which it is constantly associated in these kinds of passages (see Appendix II). Since these adjectives refer mainly to the physical beauty and strength of the warriors, or to their bravery, there are three chief possibilities, roughly, "beautiful," "strong," and "brave."

Of these, the likeliest meaning for ἀμύμων appears to be "beautiful," for several reasons. For one thing, ἀμύμων is used several times of women; we have already seen that Andromache and a naiad are called ἀμύμων in the Iliad (see above, pp. 11-14), and there are several other women in the Odyssey of whom the epithet is used (see below, pp. 120-123, 130-133, and 138-143). None of the adjectives meaning "brave" is ever applied to a woman in either poem, so that this meaning can be eliminated. Strange as it may seem to our taste, "strong" is a real possibility, for strength was an essential ingredient in the Greek ideal of beauty, male or female (see above, p. 61), and of the adjectives meaning "strong" ἴφθιμος is in fact used of women a number of times (see Appendix II, List 6, C. 1-7). Other considerations, however, make it likely that in ἀμύμων the predominant reference is to beauty rather than to strength alone, although as we have seen ἀμύμων has marked overtones of strength.

First, only the assumption that ἀμύμων refers primarily to beauty accounts satisfactorily for the ancient confusion between ἀμύμων and ἀμώμητος and ἄμωμος. And it is not only a question of confusion in later commentators, but of a real kinship of meaning, for occasionally, as in the case of Poulydamas, ἀμύμων and ἀμώμητος seem to be used as roughly synonymous (see above, pp. 50, 77). Then the association between ἀμύμων and the other expressions Homer uses to refer to beauty appears to be closer and more significant than that between ἀμύμων and adjectives meaning "strong" and "brave." For example, the passages in which an ἀμύμων person is used as a standard of comparison for beauty are best understood on the assumption that ἀμύμων refers primarily to beauty (see above, pp. 66-67 and below, pp. 118 and 124-126). Similarly, there is an unusually high correlation between ἀμύμων and expressions indicating the possession of god-like beauty (see Appendix II, List 10).

CHAPTER FIVE

AMYMΩN WITH VARIOUS NOUNS IN THE ILIAD AND THE ODYSSEY

We must now return to Homer, for we have yet to examine a large number of passages in which ἀμύμων occurs. Since many of these are precisely those in which the translation "blameless" for ἀμύμων seems most plausible, we cannot yet consider the question of its derivation from μῶμος to be settled in the negative. Instead we can test both hypotheses, the usual assumption that ἀμύμων is derived from μῶμος, and the suggestion that it refers to excellence of bodily structure and function, by seeing which theory gives qualitatively the most satisfactory meaning to the greater number of passages, and which suggests the most plausible course of development for extended meanings. If ἀμύμων was derived from μῶμος, some of the connotations of μῶμος ought to be unmistakably present in the passages where ἀμύμων has an abstract meaning rather than the physical reference which we have seen so often in the Iliad.

'Αμύμων naturally did not maintain a single meaning throughout its history. A development in meaning from concrete to abstract can easily be seen in those passages where it is applied to nouns which denote a profession or activity. Five of these occur in the Iliad (see above, p. 10 and Appendix I, List 3). In one, after Achilleus has promised to protect Kalchas if he explains why the Achaians are afflicted with a plague, it is said, "then the ἀμύμων seer (μάντις) took heart and spoke out":

καὶ τότε δὴ θάρσησε καὶ ηὔδα μάντις ἀμύμων. [I.92]

Kalchas says that the plague has been sent because Agamemnon refused to accept ransom for the girl Chryseis, whereupon Agamemnon replies angrily, unjustly accusing Kalchas of never prophesying anything good [I.106ff.]. Therefore, when Kalchas is called a "blameless seer" in translations, it sounds as if the epithet were intended to signify that he is undeserving of Agamemnon's accusation. As we shall see, however, the same phrase is used of two other prophets in the Odyssey, in circumstances where the con-

notations of "blameless" are not so appropriate (see below, p. 117).

Asklepios is twice called an ἀμύμων physician (ἰητήρ). Now Asklepios is not a character in the poem; he appears merely as the father of Machaon, the Achaians' army doctor. Once when Menelaos is wounded, Agamemnon tells a herald to summon Machaon, whom he describes as "the son of Asklepios, (who was) an ἀμύμων physician"—'Ασκληπιοῦ υἱόν, ἀμύμονος ἰητῆρος [IV.194]. Almost this same phrase is used again of Machaon when, having been wounded, he mounts Nestor's chariot to leave the battlefield; the only change is that "son" (υἱός) is in the nominative instead of the accusative [XI.518]. Machaon is, of course, very useful to the army, as is indicated in the text near the phrases quoted (he treats Menelaos' wound promptly and effectively in IV.213ff. and is praised by Idomeneus in XI.514-515), and his father was, presumably, of equal benefit to his contemporaries; but, even so, the translation "blameless physician" would surely never have entrenched itself so firmly as it has done, if it were not that this rendition of ἀμύμων is so time-honored that no one really notices how silly it is in these passages.

The real meaning of the phrase ἀμύμων ἰητήρ is seen more clearly in our fourth passage, where it is used, not of a character in the poem, but indefinitely. Eurypylos tells Patroklos that Machaon is lying wounded "himself in need of an ἀμύμων ἰητήρ":

χρηΐζοντα καὶ αὐτὸν ἀμύμονος ἰητῆρος. [XI.835]

Obviously, ἀμύμων here either means "good, excellent" in a general sense, which would be a natural development from the original meaning of good in reference to physical appearance and constitution; or, remembering the association between ἀμύμων and physical strength, an extension of meaning to "effective, capable" would be readily understandable.[1]

In the same way, then, Kalchas and Asklepios are both called ἀμύμων because they are experts in their respective professions. Asklepios' skill as a physician was famous, and Kalchas, when he is first introduced in the Iliad, is said to be by far the best of those versed in bird omens—οἰωνοπόλων ὄχ' ἄριστος [I.69].[2]

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[1] In other words, ἀμύμων is in such passages roughly synonymous with ἀγαθός; cf. the description of Machaon and Podaleirios as ἰητῆρ' ἀγαθώ [II.732].

[2] Kalchas' expertise, his knowledge of past, present, and future is described in the following line: ὃς ᾔδη τά τ' ἐόντα τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα

The fifth and final passage of this kind in the Iliad may be interpreted along the same lines. To convey the effect of Agamemnon's ἀριστεία, the poet says that many horses up and down the battlefield were rattling empty chariots behind them, "yearning for their ἀμύμονας charioteers" (ἡνιόχους)—ἡνιόχους ποθέοντες ἀμύμονας [XI.161], but these were lying on the ground, a prey for vultures. Manifestly, the moral status of their charioteers, dead or alive, is of no concern to the horses; nor can they be supposed to care whether or not their drivers have been unjustly blamed for something. What the phrase conveys is the notion that the horses miss the feel of strong and experienced hands guiding them, so that ἀμύμων here too may be rendered "excellent" or "expert." [1]

Further evolution in the meaning of ἀμύμων may be seen in those passages in Homer where it is used with nouns that do not denote people at all. Only eleven such nouns occur in the Iliad and Odyssey, but it will be convenient to consider with this group of passages, two others where ἀμύμων refers to people, but in anomalous ways (see Appendix I, List 4).

In the Iliad only one noun not denoting a person is modified by ἀμύμων more than once; this is ἔργα, works, deeds. The women whom Agamemnon gives to Achilleus in restitution for his seizure of Briseis are three times described as skilled (ἰδυίας) in ἀμύμονα ἔργα: once when Agamemnon tells the chiefs that he will give them to Achilleus if he returns to battle:

δώσω δ' ἑπτὰ γυναῖκας ἀμύμονα ἔργα ἰδυίας. [IX.128]

This line is repeated, with only the necessary change in the verb (the third person δώσει instead of the first) when Odysseus reports the offer to Achilleus [IX.270]. Thirdly, when Achilleus does return to the war, it is said that the Achaians "led out [from Agamemnon's tent] the women ἀμύμονα ἔργα ἰδυίας":

ἐκ δ' ἄγον αἶψα γυναῖκας ἀμύμονα ἔργα ἰδυίας. [XIX.245]

These same women are twice said to surpass the tribes of women in beauty (κάλλει)—αἳ κάλλει ἐνίκων φῦλα γυναικῶν [IX.130 ∾ IX.272].

[I.70]. The verb "know" (οἶδα) is used of physicians as well; Machaon treating Menelaos' wound is described as "skilled in drugs" (ἤπια φάρμακα εἰδώς) [IV.218]; cf. Nestor's remark that Agamede knew all the drugs (φάρμακα ᾔδη) that the earth produces [XI.741].

[1] Lattimore mysteriously translates here "haughty charioteers" as if he read ἀγαούς instead of ἀμύμονας, but there is no hint of this alternative in the mss.

The same formula in the singular, ἀμύμονα ἔργα ἰδυῖαν, is used of the woman who is part of the first prize which Achilleus sets for the chariot race at Patroklos' funeral games:

θῆκε γυναῖκα ἄγεσθαι ἀμύμονα ἔργα ἰδυῖαν. [XXIII.263]

In these passages, if one takes ἔργα as "deeds," and if one tries to retain the connotations of "blameless" for ἀμύμων, one might suppose that these beautiful concubines were also being praised for their respectable behavior. Or, more plausibly taking ἔργα as weaving, the chief occupation of Homeric women,[1] one still runs the risk of supposing that the poet considers weaving a praiseworthy and respectable occupation which keeps women from incurring μῶμος. But even the far from blameless Helen spins and weaves assiduously (see III.125-128, VI.323-324, 4.130-135, and 15.105-108, 124-128). Furthermore, ἔργα may denote the product as well as the process,[2] so it is better to take ἀμύμονα ἔργα to mean beautiful, well-woven, long-wearing cloth, and to understand that the concubines are being described as themselves beautiful and also skilled as to (i.e. at producing) beautiful cloth. This interpretation is confirmed by the five passages in the Odyssey which describe ἔργα = cloth as ἀγλαά = shining, beautiful,[3] adding in

[1] This meaning is of course common in the Odyssey, but even in the Iliad there are several passages where ἔργα refers to spinning and weaving. For example, Agamemnon remarks that Chryseis is not inferior to Klytaimnestra either in shape, size, intelligence or ἔργα = handicraft, or skill in weaving [I.115], as I.31 shows. Cf. also VI.490, 492, XIII.432, and XXIII.705, in the last of which another concubine, set as a prize by Achilleus, is said to be skilled at producing cloth—πολλὰ δ' ἐπίστατο ἔργα.

[2] See, e.g., VI.289 where παμποίκιλα ἔργα is used in apposition to πέπλοι, referring to the robes which Alexandros brought back from Sidon; cf. the Odyssey passages cited below from Appendix II. List 9.

[3] Another epithet which means "shining," σιγαλόεις, is applied to garments in Homer, and since in one case at least the epithet is often thought to be carelessly used of dirty clothes [6.26] (see Stanford, Odyssey, *ad loc.*), it is perhaps worthwhile to take a moment to distinguish it from ἀγλαός. 'Αγλαός (see Chap. II, p. 51, n. 3) refers primarily to light being reflected, and is used both literally and metaphorically of a variety of things and persons. Σιγαλόεις, on the other hand, is severely restricted to reins (six times in the Iliad, one in the Odyssey), various garments (twice in the Iliad, three times in the Odyssey), rugs (six times in the Odyssey), and Penelope's chambers (four times in the Odyssey), plus one instance of the θρόνωι φαεινῶι on which Kalypso seats Hermes [5.86].

LSJ explains the application to reins as "glittering with colour or metal work"; but I think it more likely that σιγαλόεις is connected with σίαλος, fat (of a hog), perhaps with an intrusive *gamma* from the many words meaning "bright" which contain the root -γλ- (see Chap. II, p. 51, n. 3). Clothes are

three cases a statement that the woman (or goddess) who produces the cloth is herself beautiful (see Appendix II, List 9, D. 3 a-e). In one of these passages [10.223], the cloth is called χαρίεντα as well as ἀγλαά. The adjective χαρίεις is used also of various other garments in Homer, and in Hesiod (see above, p. 76) of two of the daughters of ἀμύμων Nereus, who were skilled in ἀμύμονα ἔργα.[1]

It should be noted that in the five passages in which cloth is called ἀγλαά, as well as in the phrase quoted at the end of n. 1 above, p. 97, there is an ellipsis of the idea "producing" similar to the one which we have assumed in interpreting the formula ἀμύμονα ἔργα ἰδυίας (ἰδυῖαν). In any case the rendering "skilled at (producing) beautiful cloth" is more natural than the shifts which Lattimore is put to; he uses "the work of whose hands is (was) blameless" for the first three passages and "faultless in the work of her hands" for the fourth. The first of these involves suppressing the participle ἰδυίας, and the second transferring ἀμύμονα from the ἔργα to the woman (but see Appendix V).

The other instances of ἀμύμων used with nouns that do not denote persons are as follows. When Bellerophontes is sent to Lykia by his murderous host Proitos (see above, pp. 24-28), he is said to go under the ἀμύμων escort (πομπῇι) of the gods:

> αὐτὰρ ὁ βῆ Λυκίηνδε θεῶν ὑπ' ἀμύμονι πομπῇι. [VI.171]

Here the usual "blameless" of the English translators is puzzling, not to say meaningless, whereas "strong" or "effective" is both understandable and easily derived from the normal use of ἀμύμων.[2]

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said to drip with oil in 7.107, and I suppose that reins must have been oiled. Its application to Penelope's chambers may be just through association with garments, or because it was hung with tapestries or had oiled panels. Kalypso's chair, similarly, might be called σιγαλόεντι either because it was made of oiled wood, or because of the rugs that were normally put on chairs (not mentioned here, but cf. 10.352). If this is so, and σιγαλόεις means "shining with oil" specifically, then Nausikaa's clothes would remain σιγαλόεντα, dirty or clean. It may be added that the word does not occur in later Greek poetry, but LSJ cites Hermippus 63.20 with ἀμύγδαλα, almonds, and defines "fatty, oily."

[1] Χαρίεις of course means having χάρις, that is attraction, the kind of beauty which draws eyes (cf. the χάρις which Athena sheds on Telemachos, p. 130). In the Iliad garments (εἵματα) are twice described as χαρίεντα [V.905, XXII.511]; the superlative χαριέστατος is twice used of a robe (πέπλος) [VI.90, 271]. In the Odyssey the cloaks (φᾶρος) given to Odysseus by Kalypso and by Kirke are each described as λεπτὸν καὶ χαρίεν [5.231 = 10.544].

[2] See Kirk, *Songs*, p. 165 for an illustration of the false problems raised by the translation "blameless." If one takes ἀμύμονι here as "effective," there

When the despair among the Greeks caused by the Trojan victories in book VIII has been increased by the failure of the embassy to Achilleus, Agamemnon, unable to sleep in his anxiety, decides that the best thing to do is to go to Nestor, in case he can frame some ἀμύμων plan (μῆτις) which might ward off misfortune from the Greeks:

εἴ τινά οἱ σὺν μῆτιν ἀμύμονα τεκτήναιτο,
ἥ τις ἀλεξίκακος πᾶσιν Δαναοῖσιν γένοιτο. [X.19-20]

Here too the connotations of μῶμος in Homer are completely inappropriate, and the circumstances are such that not even Agamemnon could expect a suggestion that would be "faultless" in any more general sense, but he could reasonably look for a workable piece of advice that would effectively improve the situation of the Greeks.[1] In fact, when he wakes Nestor, he himself suggests making sure that the sentries are awake, so that the Trojans cannot make an unannounced attack. Nestor in turn suggests a general council of the Greek chiefs and to them he proposes that some one go to spy on the Trojan camp [X.204ff.]. In the event, both Diomedes and Odysseus go on an expedition which does not materially improve the plight of the Greeks, although their safe return and the booty they bring back from their raid on the Thracian camp do succeed in lightening the spirits of their comrades [X.541-565].

The next instance occurs in a gnomic couplet. In the course of his boast over the slain Peisandros Menelaos complains that the Trojans are insatiable in war, although there is satiety of everything else, sleep, and love, and sweet song, and the ἀμύμων choral dance (ὀρχηθμοῖο):

πάντων μὲν κόρος ἐστί, καὶ ὕπνου καὶ φιλότητος
μολπῆς τε γλυκερῆς καὶ ἀμύμονος ὀρχηθμοῖο. [XIII.636-637]

To call dancing "blameless" or "innocent" (as Lattimore does) conjures up a number of associations perhaps relevant in a Puritan culture that condemns dancing as immoral, but surely impertinent

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is no need to postulate "an attempt to summarize too much in too short a phrase to cover a deficiency of precise information." By Homeric convention, the phrase merely accounts for the surprising fact that Bellerophontes went safely among so many dangers.

[1] Lattimore translates "a plan that would not fail," but something like "an effective plan" seems fully adequate for the context.

to Homer's lines. But dancing might well be called ἀμύμων because it is a pleasure to look on when the performers are themselves ἀμύμονες, that is, handsome and strong.

At a critical moment in the fighting around the ships, Teukros aims an arrow at Hektor, but Zeus, who is giving the Trojans victory in accordance with his promise to Thetis, breaks the well-twisted bow string in the ἀμύμων bow (τόξωι):

> ὅς οἱ ἐϋστρεφέα νευρὴν ἐν ἀμύμονι τόξωι
> ῥῆξ'. [XV.463-464]

Here "unfaulted" (Lattimore) is possible, but there is no need to think of the bow as perfect; strong and handsome because well-made is all that is required. Teukros' bow is called "strong" (κρατερός) earlier [VIII.279], and all other epithets used with τόξος in Homer refer to some aspect of a bow's physical strength, size, construction, or appearance,[1] so that ἀμύμων doubtless does the same.

The last instance in the Iliad is perhaps the most interesting. The climax of the fight around the ships comes when Hektor shears off the point of Aias' long spear with which he is keeping the Trojans at bay. As the bronze spearhead clatters to the ground, Aias recognizes in his ἀμύμων heart (θυμός) the action of the gods and shudders:

> γνῶ δ' Αἴας κατὰ θυμὸν ἀμύμονα, ῥίγησέν τε,
> ἔργα θεῶν. [XVI.119-120]

It is true that Aias himself is "blameless" in that he has been fighting bravely to protect the Greeks against the consequences of Achilleus' wrath, but it seems odd to specify that his θυμός is "blameless."

The same phrase, κατὰ θυμὸν ἀμύμονα, recurs twice, in the Odyssey. First, in narrating his adventuıes to the court of Alkinoos, Odysseus says that when he awoke to find himself being blown away from Ithaka by the winds which his comrades had let out of the bag

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[1] The epithets commonly used with τόξος in Homer are: ἀγκύλος (καμπύλος), curved; ἐΰξοος, well-polished; μέγας, large; and παλίντονος, elastic. The beauty of a bow happens never to be mentioned explicitly, but adjectives implying beauty are the most frequent epithets of arms in general (τεύχεα) and of other specific weapons: καλός (seventeen times), ποικίλος (six times), περικαλλής (twice). Descriptions of arms also often imply both their beauty and strength (see, for one example out of many, XIII.610-613).

given him by Aiolos, he "hesitated in his ἀμύμων θυμός" whether he should commit suicide or endure:

ἐγρόμενος κατὰ θυμὸν ἀμύμονα μερμήριξα . . . [10.50]

As in the case of Aias, Odysseus himself might here be called blameless in contrast to the crew; he at least attributes this disaster to their ἀφραδίῃσιν, folly [10.27], and calls the decision to open the bag of winds βουλὴ κακή, ill counsel [10.46], but again it seems strange to call his θυμός, specifically, ἀμύμων.

The second passage occurs during the first conference between Odysseus and Telemachos. Odysseus asks his son to tell him exactly how many suitors there are to be killed so that he can decide whether the two of them can tackle them alone or whether they should seek allies; he will make the decision having pondered in his ἀμύμων θυμός:

. . . ἐμὸν κατὰ θυμὸν ἀμύμονα μερμηρίξας. [16.237]

There is, of course, a general contrast between Odysseus and the guilty suitors throughout the Odyssey, but there is no especial reason in this particular context to call Odysseus, let alone this θυμός, "blameless."

What we see in these three passages is a development in the meaning of ἀμύμων, not in the directions of "effective, capable," or "beautiful" transferred from men to things, as in the other passages we have just been examining, but in another direction. We have already seen (above, pp. 60 and 69) that, because ἀμύμων was used primarily of a warrior's body, it inevitably had overtones of "brave, valiant"; it is not difficult to take the further steps of letting the overtone become the denotation and then of applying ἀμύμων to the θυμός of a warrior, rather than to the warrior himself. If we want an English rendering of the phrase, Palmer's "gallant heart" [1] is surely closer to what ἀμύμων with θυμός would have suggested to Homer's audience than is Lattimore's "blameless heart."

Nevertheless, the phrase κατὰ θυμὸν ἀμύμονα remains peculiar because θυμός, for all its frequency in Homer, is seldom modified by any adjective, and when it is, it means "life, spirit, temper," etc.[2]

[1] Palmer, *Odyssey*, edited and revised by Porter, Bantam Books, pp. 131 and 204. Henceforth quotations from this edition will be identified merely by a reference to the page numbers.

[2] Θυμός occurs about 750 times in Homer, but is used with an adjective in only about 100 places. The most frequent adjectives are: ἀγήνωρ, μεγαλήτωρ, μέγας, νηλεής, τλήμων, or a synonym, and φίλος. Those which occur

These three passages are almost the only ones in Homer where θυμός meaning the seat of a mental process, roughly synonymous with νόος, is modified by any adjective at all, let alone one that needs somewhat special scrutiny before its meaning is apparent.[1] The phrase is comprehensible if we take ἀμύμων as "brave" or gallant," but it is still true that there seems no compelling reason why it is used in these three passages alone, out of scores in Homer where someone ponders, feels, or realizes something in his θυμός unqualified by any adjective.

But we find in the Odyssey two other passages which shed some light on the problem from a different direction. In one, which we have already mentioned (above, p. 9), Zeus bethinks himself in his θυμός of ἀμύμων Aigisthos:

μνήσατο γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀμύμονος Αἰγίσθοιο. [1.29]

In the other, Nestor's son, Peisistratos, bethinks himself in his θυμός of ἀμύμων Antilochos (his brother):

μνήσατο γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀμύμονος 'Αντιλόχοιο. [4.187]

In all five passages, it will be noticed, both κατὰ θυμόν and ἀμύμων occur in the same positions in the line, positions which are, moreover, the standard ones for both expressions.[2] It may therefore well be that the unusual phrase κατὰ θυμὸν ἀμύμονα arose from a combination of the common formula κατὰ θυμόν with the equally common use of the oblique cases of ἀμύμων plus a proper name at the end of the line. Under the pressure of extemporaneous composition such combinations and adaptations of formulas are not infrequent,

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only in the Iliad once or twice are: ἄναλκις, δίχα, ἕνα, καρτερός, μελιηδής, ὁμόφρων, and ὑπερφίαλος. Those occuring only rarely only in the Odyssey are: ἀεσίφρων, ἄφρων, ἐλεήμων, θεουδής, πολυπενθής, πρόφρων, ταλαπενθής, and ὑπέρβιος. In addition, four occur once or twice in both poems: ἀπηνής, κεχαφηώς, κεκοτεώς, and σιδήρεος. Many of these are in the predicate.

[1] The only exceptions are where Telemachos says that he rejoices ἄφρονι θυμῶι [21.105], and where the Kentaur Eurytion is described as carrying ἄτη...ἀεσίφρονι θυμῶι [21.302], neither of which is analogous to the passages in which θυμός is modified by ἀμύμων. The formula ταῦτα φίλος διελέξατο θυμός occurs five times in the Iliad, but φίλος is little more than a possessive adjective in this phrase.

[2] The phrase κατὰ θυμόν has two regular positions: between the second and third foot caesuras, as in the passages quoted, and at the end of a line. The oblique cases of ἀμύμων regularly occur, with only a few exceptions (see below, p. 111 n. 2), between the feminine caesura in the third foot and the bucolic diaeresis.

and they sometimes give rise to slightly anomalous expressions.[1]

Besides θυμός, of the nouns not referring to people which are used with ἀμύμων in the Iliad, πομπή and τόξον do not recur in the Odyssey, but ἔργα, μῆτις, and ὀρχηθμός do. Women given as gifts are described as ἀμύμονα ἔργα ἰδυίας once, in a false tale that Odysseus tells to his father Laertes, where they are further said to be εἰδαλίμας, a word which occurs only here, but which evidently means "shapely, beautiful":

χωρὶς δ' αὖτε γυναῖκας ἀμύμονα ἔργα ἰδυίας
τέσσαρας εἰδαλίμας, ἃς ἤθελεν αὐτὸς ἑλέσθαι. [24.278-279]

There seems no difference between this passage and the Iliadic usage (see above, pp. 96-99).

When the other Kyklopes do not help the wounded and bellowing Polyphemos because he attributes his troubles to Οὖτις, Noman, Odysseus rejoices that his ruse effectively deceived the Kyklops:

. . . ἐμὸν δ' ἐγέλασσε φίλον κῆρ,
ὡς ὄνομ' ἐξαπάτησεν ἐμὸν καὶ μῆτις ἀμύμων. [9.413-414]

As in the Iliad passage (pp. 99-100 above), "an effective plan" seems an adequate rendering of μῆτις ἀμύμων.

Dancing is called ἀμύμων in the Odyssey in a context which is fuller and more illuminating than Menelaos' couplet (see above, pp. 99). After the slaughter of the suitors, Odysseus devises a plan to prevent a premature intrusion of the Ithacan kinsmen of the dead; he tells the bard to lead the servants in a dance, so that passers-by will think that the suitors are celebrating the wedding of one of them

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[1] I had forgotten when I wrote the above that Parry had included κατὰ θυμὸν ἀμύμονα in a list of expressions produced by modifications and combinations of existing formulae; see *L'Épithète*, p. 92 and the surrounding discussion, pp. 84-95. Homeric studies might benefit at this point from an investigation of the whole matter of analogical formation and combination of formulae from a literary point of view. Recent work along these lines, such as the articles by Hainsworth and the monograph by Hoekstra, which are immensely detailed and technical, tends to sound as if the authors had forgotten that the formulae which they discuss were used to compose a poem. Kirk does consider the meaning of formulaic phrases, but his main concern is the question whether we can use awkwardness as a criterion for detecting post-Homeric interpolations; see, e.g., "Formular Language," pp. 169-170, where he discusses another phrase involving an odd use of θυμόν. But Kirk's examples are sporadic, and until we have a more precise idea of the range and quality of analogical formations in the Iliad and the Odyssey, the effort to declare some of them "post-Homeric" seems premature.

to Penelope. The bard, obediently taking his lyre, rouses in the rest a desire for sweet song and ἀμύμων dance:

. . . ἐν δέ σφισιν ἵμερον ὦρσε
μολπῆς τε γλυκερῆς καὶ ἀμύμονος ὀρχηθμοῖο. [23.144-145]

The poet adds that the great hall echoed around to the feet of the dancing (παιζόντων)[1] men and fair-girdled women:

τοῖσιν δὲ μέγα δῶμα περιστεναχίζετο ποσσὶν
ἀνδρῶν παιζόντων καλλιζώνων τε γυναικῶν. [23.146-147]

This description, brief as it is, is consonant with our earlier conjecture (see above, p. 99) that dancing is called ἀμύμων because the dancers are thought of as ἀμύμονες. The precise idea is certainly hard to render in one word in English, but the simple "beautiful" seems to me better than either Lattimore's "innocent" or Palmer's "gallant" [p. 279].

In addition to the above words, which the Odyssey shares with the Iliad, ἀμύμων is used of five other nouns in the Odyssey. Four of them refer to visible objects and ἀμύμων has its regular meaning of "beautiful to look at," with overtones of "strong, well-constructed." When the stranger Mentes (Athena in disguise) comments on the disorderly behavior of the suitors, Telemachos says that once upon a time, when his father was at home, "the οἶκος, house, seemed likely to be rich (ἀφνειός; see on Dares above, pp. 13 and 15) and ἀμύμων":

μέλλεν μέν ποτε οἶκος ὅδ' ἀφνειὸς καὶ ἀμύμων
ἔμμεναι. [1.232-233]

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[1] The verb παίζω is another good example of the habit of reading back into Homer meanings which are common only later. The lexica are unanimous in interpreting "play like a child, sport," but throughout the Odyssey παίζω (which does not occur in the Iliad) is used exclusively of adults in the rhythmic movement of the dance; see 6.100, 106, of Nausikaa and her maids who are not "playing," but performing a ball-dance, as her brothers do later [8.251]; cf. also 7.291 and 23.134; in the latter the epithet φιλοπαίγμονος modifies ὀρχηθμοῖο. In the Homeric hymns also παίζω regularly means "dance" [To Demeter, II.5 and 425; To Apollo, III.201, 206; To Aphrodite, V. 120; and To Earth, XXX.15]. Indeed, in what may be the earliest occurrence of the verb, the inscription of the famous Dipylon prize jug (National Museum, Athens, no. 2074), παίζῃ means "dance." Nor is it just that Homer does not mention children playing, for he does, at least twice, once of Astyanax, where he uses the participle νηπιαχεύων [XXII.502]; once in a simile about a child building a sand-castle, where he uses the noun νηπιέῃσιν [XV.363].

But now, he continues, all the neighboring princes have come to woo his mother and are eating him out of house and home. (τρύχουσι δὲ οἶκον [1.248]; τοὶ δὲ φθινύθουσιν ἔδοντες / οἶκον ἐμόν [1.250-251]).

At first sight, either Palmer's "esteemed" [p. 33], or Rieu's "respectable," [1] both of which are adaptations of the usual "blameless," fits the context well enough. But on closer inspection of Telemachos' speech, it becomes clear that he is more concerned about the damage that the suitors are doing to his property than about any disgrace that they may bring upon him. Moreover, it is evident from the Odyssey as a whole that the suitors' behavior redounds only to their own discredit, not to their hosts', far less to the discredit of the house *per se*. To understand this use of ἀμύμων it is not necessary to assume that it means "free from μῶμος." An actual house might well have been called ἀμύμων in the sense of "beautiful and well-built" (cf. just below on ἕρκεος), and it is easy to see how ἀμύμων in a slightly developed sense ("handsome," "well-appointed" or the like) might be applied to οἶκος, which includes not only the physical palace, but the whole estate, whose "beauty" the suitors are disrupting. The remarkable thing about this passage is not the meaning of ἀμύμων, but the fact that it is in the predicate, a usage which is very rare in Homer.[2]

Next, four other passages, in which ἀμύμων is applied to words denoting concrete things, can be quickly surveyed. First, when Odysseus describes how he and his crew approached Thrinakia (which, according to Kirke, was lush enough to pasture seven flocks of sheep and seven droves of cattle, each containing fifty animals [12.127-130]), he says, "then at once we arrived at the ἀμύμων νῆσος, island, of the god":

> . . . αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα θεοῦ ἐς ἀμύμονα νῆσον
> ἱκόμεθ'. [12.261-262]

Palmer here translates "pleasant" [p. 161], and Rieu "favored" [p. 196].

Then, after the slaughter of the suitors, Odysseus orders the

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[1] Rieu, Penguin *Odyssey*, p. 31. Henceforth quotations from this translation will be identified merely by a reference to the page numbers in this edition.

[2] 'Αμύμων is definitely predicate in only two more passages (see pp. 106-109); in neither of the three does it refer to a character in the poem. In Hesiod and the Homeric hymns also ἀμύμων is attributive; even Quintus uses it in the predicate only once (Appendix IV, List 2, II, A. 9).

twelve disloyal maid-servants to be put to death outside, between the θόλος (whatever that may be) [1] and the ἀμύμων wall (ἕρκεος) of the courtyard—or the wall of the ἀμύμων courtyard (αὐλῆς):

μεσσηγύς τε θόλου καὶ ἀμύμονος ἕρκεος αὐλῆς. [22.442]

The line is repeated shortly afterwards when the order is carried out [22.459]. In both places Palmer renders "neat courtyard wall" [p. 274], and Rieu "great wall of the courtyard" [p. 339].[2]

Finally, in the second Nekyia, Agamemnon, in describing the funeral of Achilleus, says that the army heaped up a great and ἀμύμων τύμβος, mound, over the ashes:

ἀμφ' αὐτοῖσι δ' ἔπειτα μέγαν καὶ ἀμύμονα τύμβον [24.80]

Here Palmer gives "great stately tomb" [p. 285], and Rieu "a great and glorious mound" [p. 353]; Stanford quotes Cotterill's "a monument mighty and splendid." [3] Since none of these versions attempts to force ἀμύμων into a connection with "blameless," we need not labor the point that in all four passages the original meaning of ἀμύμων is merely transferred from its original object, the bodies of warriors, to a variety of other things which are also beautiful, strong, and/or well-built.

The final instance of ἀμύμων with a word not referring to a person in the Odyssey is a most curious one. Odysseus, in disguise as a beggar is spending his first evening in the hut of the loyal swineherd Eumaios; as night comes on cold and rainy he decides to test Eumaios' already exemplary hospitality a bit further and see if he will give him a cloak to add to his beggar's rags. His method is to tell a false anecdote; claiming that he had gone on a night ambush at Troy with Menelaos and Odysseus and foolishly forgotten his cloak, he recounts how Odysseus procured him one by a ruse. Eumaios begins his reply with two lines that have received varied interpretation:

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1 Θόλος means "round-house," of course, but no one knows what its function in Odysseus' palace was. Stanford, *Odyssey*, vol. II, p. 388 (on 22.442), suggests a conical grain store; and, *ibid.*, Appendix B, p. 436, a bread oven.

2 Palmer's translation nicely preserves the ambiguity of the Greek, in which ἀμύμονος could modify αὐλῆς, the word order being due to metrical considerations and to the fact that ἀμύμονος retains its usual position in the line. (For instances of separated nouns and epithets, see Parry, *L'Épithète*, pp. 204ff.) But in view of the connotations of strength and good construction in ἀμύμων, it is better to take it with ἕρκεος, as most translators do.

3 *Odyssey*, vol. II, p. 416, on 24.80-4.

ὦ γέρον, αἶνος μέν τοι ἀμύμων, ὃν κατέλεξας,
οὐδέ τί πω παρὰ μοῖραν ἔπος νηκερδὲς ἔειπες. [14.508-509]

Rieu translates loosely: "Old man . . . that is an excellent story (αἶνος) you have told us. Every word went home, and you shall have your reward" [p. 228]. Stanford attempts to preserve the supposed connection of ἀμύμων with μῶμος, and comments as follows:

> Eumaeus has been aware of Odysseus's motive in producing this story-with-a-moral (αἶνος). He replies in mildly bantering tones: 'Old man, faultless indeed is the story you have told. Not a word you said was ill-judged—or unprofitable.'

Palmer, taking his cue on αἶνος from Odysseus' initial statement that he will boast a bit and tell them a story (ἔπος)— εὐξάμενός τι ἔπος ἐρέω [14.463], renders: "Old man, the boastings you have uttered are not ill. You have not spoken an improper or a silly word" [p. 186].

All these versions are full of inaccuracies which must be cleared up before the meaning of ἀμύμων can be ascertained. First of all, αἶνος in Homer means neither "story," with or without a moral, nor "boastings," but merely "praise." [2] The boasting which Odysseus refers to consists merely in the beggar talking of himself when he was fortunate and a member of the famous expedition to Troy; the praise which his tale contains is not of himself, as far as Eumaios can know, but of the clever Odysseus. It therefore needs no justification as "blameless" or as "not ill." Secondly, since Odysseus himself originally called his story an ἔπος, ἔπος in our passage surely means the tale itself, not one of the words in it, as the translators have it. Thirdly, οὐδέ obviously answers αἶνος μέν in the first line; it does not serve as disjunctive between παρὰ μοῖραν and νηκερδές, as the versions quoted oddly suggest. Next, παρὰ μοῖραν is the opposite of

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[1] *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 237, on 14.508ff.

[2] Αἶνος occurs only thrice [XXIII.652 and 795, 21.110]. Only in the first passage, where it refers to Nestor's customarily long-winded account of his youthful athletic prowess, is anything like a "story," involved, and even there "praise" (strictly, "self-praise," which may have influenced Palmer in our passage) is suitable. In both other passages the speeches referred to by αἶνος are very short, that is, not "a tale," and are words of praise. Monro, *Odyssey*, II, p. 42, comments on 14.508: "αἶνος 'a tale,' 'account.' The meanings 'fable' and 'praise' are not clearly to be traced in Homer." But he offers no support for this statement (not unnaturally, since none exists), and maintains silence on 21.110, where αἶνος can scarcely mean anything but "praise".

the usual phrase, κατὰ μοῖραν, not an alternate version for it.[1] Nor does κατὰ μοῖραν itself with a verb of speaking mean simply "rightly, duly, properly" or the like; it means that a speaker has properly assessed the μοῖρα, that is the abilities and character, of any one whom he has mentioned in the speech that is said to be κατὰ μοῖραν.[2] Finally, νηκερδές is assumed by all three translators to be the negative adjective derived from κέρδος in the sense of "gain." But although κέρδος may have this sense, its regular meaning in Homer is "cleverness, wisdom," and νηκερδές thus means "not clever, foolish." [3]

If we take all these points into consideration, it is clear that what Eumaios says is: "Old man, the praise (of Odysseus) which you have spoken is ἀμύμων, I assure you (τοι), and you have not told a foolish tale without due regard for the relative merits (of yourself and Odysseus)." When the rest of the speech is properly understood, it becomes evident that ἀμύμων must mean something like "fine, excellent," or perhaps "welcome." In other words, it is being used as a general term of commendation, not incomprehensibly, but certainly more imprecisely than in any other one of the passages which we have examined.

Besides this unprecedented extension of meaning in ἀμύμων, there are two other anomalies. First, ἀμύμων is in the predicate, an

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[1] This Palmer and Stanford understand rightly, but Autenrieth-Flagg under μοῖρα regards παρά as a synonym for κατά, with μοῖραν, although Autenrieth himself had it right, and even Flagg defines it under παρά as "contrary to right."

[2] The evidence for this is too extensive to be set out here, but anyone who examines all the places where the phrase is used will see that all the speeches which are said to be κατὰ μοῖραν imply or state assessments of people as to valor, intelligence, looks, importance, and the like. To cite only one example: when Odysseus tells Demodokos, the Phaiakian bard, that he will spread his praises among all mankind, if Demodokos recounts the tale of the wooden horse κατὰ μοῖραν [8.496-498], he does not mean that he wants Demodokos to tell the story "in due order," that is, without confusing the order of events, as is usually assumed; but rather he wishes to see if Demodokos will properly assess the relative merits of Epeios, who made the horse, and of Odysseus, by whose strategem it was introduced into the city, as is made clear by 8.492-495. I am indebted for this interpretation of κατὰ μοῖραν to a course in The Language of Homer, taught by Professor Bruno Snell when he was the Sather Professor of Literature at the University of California, Berkeley, in the Fall of 1963.

[3] This is confirmed by the only other use of νηκερδής in Homer, where Alkimedon reproaches Automedon for being so foolish as to fight alone: Αὐτόμεδον, τίς τοί νυ θεῶν νηκερδέα βουλὴν / ἐν στήθεσσι ἔθηκε, καὶ ἐξέλετο φρένας ἐσθλάς; [XVII.469-470].

unusual use, as in Telemachos' speech (see above, p. 105 and n. 2). Second, ἀμύμων here is in the nominative and yet appears in the usual position of the oblique cases (see above, p. 102 and n. 2), whereas the normal position for the nominative of ἀμύμων is at the very end of the line. This passage and one other, about to be discussed (see below, p. 110), are the only exceptions in the Odyssey.[1] No one of these anomalies separately is very serious, but together they suggest that the passage is late, a suggestion which is supported by the fact that the whole character of the speaker, Eumaios, shows signs of being a relatively late addition to the story of Odysseus.[2]

We have left (from Appendix I, List 4) two passages in which ἀμύμων is used in still more unusual ways. In the first passage, the disguised Odysseus, addressing Penelope for the first time in the poem, says, "Your fame (κλέος) has reached wide heaven, like that of some ἀμύμων king, who being god-fearing (θεουδής) rules over numerous mighty men and upholds just acts (εὐδικίας)":

. . . ἦ γάρ σευ κλέος οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἱκάνει,
ὥς τέ τευ ἢ βασιλῆος ἀμύμονος, ὅς τε θεουδὴς
ἀνδράσιν ἐν πολλοῖσι καὶ ἰφθίμοισιν ἀνάσσων
εὐδικίας ἀνέχῃσι. [19.108-111]

[1] In the Iliad ἀμύμων (nominative) is always also at the end of a line, except once ([VI.190]; see p. 24), where the reverse order would be metrically impossible unless Bellerophontes were spelled with one *lambda*, which it never elsewhere is. (Also a conflict between preferred positions is involved here, for Bellerophontes always occupies the last two feet, except once where it occupies the first two [VI.220]).

[2] The name Eumaios and/or the character of a faithful swineherd may well have existed in earlier songs about the Return of Odysseus, but the elaboration of his role surely began only with the poet who first decided to give Telemachos a role parallel to Odysseus', with a consequent journey and homecoming. This treatment of Telemachos has caused, as is well-known, many of the structural "problems" in our Odyssey, and Eumaios is an attempt to solve some of them. It is easy to imagine a simpler version in which Odysseus goes directly to the palace in disguise, and there reveals himself to both Penelope and Telemachos late at night, after the suitors have gone home. Eumaios would then appear later, to drive down pigs for the feast, just as the cowman and neatherd do in our poem. Cf. Lord, *Tales*, p. 181: "It is possible that Eumaeus is a duplication of the group of Laertes, Dolius, et al., or that some songs of the tradition would find him either completely absent or a member of that group." See also Kirk, *Songs*, p. 358ff., on the extended conversations between Odysseus and Eumaios, which he feels are the efforts of "the main composer himself" to pad out his work. Certainly much of the language used of Eumaios, or by him, shows some effort to adapt formulas to meet a rather unusual situation. Cf. Hoekstra, pp. 138-139.

The land, crops, animals, and fish (Odysseus continues) are fertile "under the good government (εὐηγεσίης) [of this king], and his people flourish under him"—ἐξ εὐηγεσίης, ἀρετῶσι δὲ λαοὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ [19.114].

In the second passage, Penelope, having arranged for the beggar to be bedded, washed, and clothed, explains that her guest could not know if she is more intelligent than other women if he were not properly treated in her house. Men are short-lived, she adds, and "whoever is himself harsh (ἀπηνής) and knows harsh things (ἀπηνέα), on him all men call down (καταρῶνται) woes while he is alive, and when he is dead revile (ἐφεψιόωνται) him; while he who is himself ἀμύμων and knows ἀμύμονα things, his fame (κλέος) strangers (or guests) carry far and wide to all men, and many call him good (ἐσθλόν)":

> ὃς μὲν ἀπηνὴς αὐτὸς ἔῃι καὶ ἀπηνέα εἰδῆι,
> τῶι δὲ καταρῶνται πάντες βροτοὶ ἄλγε' ὀπίσσω
> ζωῶι, ἀτὰρ τεθνεῶτί γ' ἐφεψιόωνται ἅπαντες·
> ὃς δ' ἂν ἀμύμων αὐτὸς ἔῃι καὶ ἀμύμονα εἰδῆι,
> τοῦ μέν τε κλέος εὐρὺ διὰ ξεῖνοι φορέουσι
> πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους, πολλοί τέ μιν ἐσθλὸν ἔειπον
>
> [19.329-334]

The first passage has long been the subject of attack as "un-Homeric," but in it at least ἀμύμονος is attributive and has its regular place in the line.[1] It is, however, unique in that it is the only place in Homer where ἀμύμων is used in a simile, and unusual in that ἀμύμων is applied not to a character in the poem, but to an indefinite person in a gnomic statement. The reference to "an ἀμύμων physician" in the Iliad [XI.835] (see above, pp. 93-94) and our second passage, Penelope's speech, are the only parallels for this usage.

This second passage has yet other peculiarities, which appear to have escaped notice altogether. Not only is the double use of ἀμύμων within a single line unique in Homer, but each instance is itself triply peculiar. The nominative, ἀμύμων, not only is in the predicate, but refers to an indefinite gnomic "whoever," a very rare construction, as we have just remarked; and, further, it occupies a

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[1] On the position of the oblique cases of ἀμύμων see above, p. 102, n. 2 and below, p. 111, n. 2. For a defense of the passage as appropriate in its place see Amory, "Reunion" pp. 100-101, and 130, nn. 3 and 4; cf. p. 84 and nn. 108-111.

unique position in the line.[1] The neuter plural, ἀμύμονα, is not at all a usual form in Homer; it is used substantively, which ἀμύμων never is elsewhere in Homer; and it appears in an unusual (though not unparalleled) position.[2]

In addition to the oddities in the usage of ἀμύμων in both passages, including the gnomic tone, both sets of lines contain a number of words that are not common in Homer. For the first: θεουδής occurs only in five other passages in the Odyssey (never in the Iliad), always in contexts involving the virtue of hospitality; εὐδικίας and εὐηγεσίης are both *hapax legomena*; the verb "flourish" (ἀρετάω) occurs only once more, in the Odyssey.[3] For the second: the adjective ἀπηνής is comparatively rare, occuring only three other times in the Odyssey and six times in the Iliad; the verbs "call down, curse" and "revile" (καταράομαι and ἐφεψιάομαι) occur elsewhere only once each, in the Iliad and Odyssey respectively.[4] These words

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[1] On other predicate uses of ἀμύμων see pp. 104, 105, 106-109 and above, p. 45, n. 1; and contrast on ἄλκιμος, Chap. II, p. 105, n. 2. The fact that ἀμύμων is here predicate makes its use even stranger than in the two other passages where ἀμύμων is used of indefinite person, since in those (see pp. 93 and 109) it is at least attributive, modifying the nouns "physician" and "king." On the regular position for the nominative of ἀμύμων see p. 109 and n. 1; again, this passage is especially odd, for in the other two exceptions (involving Eumaios and Bellerophontes) ἀμύμων (in the nominative) assumes the regular position for the oblique cases, whereas in Penelope's speech it appears in a totally unparalleled position.

[2] The neuter plural is used elsewhere in Homer only with ἔργα in a formula which occurs five times (see above, pp. 96 and 103), but it is, of course, identical in form with the masculine-feminine accusative singular, which occurs forty-one times. The use of a regular attributive epithet as a substantive is generally rare in Homer; not only is ἀμύμων so used only in this single instance, but of all the epithets in Appendix II, only ἐΰς offers any analogy (List 2, A. 17 and B. 5 a and b). The only other instances in which an oblique case of ἀμύμων occupies an irregular position (the same one as in Penelope's speech) are: VI.171 (p. 98); XV.463 (p. 99); 12.261 (p. 105); and 24.80 (p. 106). All these, it will be noticed, are late developments in that ἀμύμων is used in them with nouns not denoting persons.

[3] The places where θεουδής occurs are: 6.121 = 9.176 = 13.202 ≅ 8.576 (in all of which it modifies νόος and is associated with φιλόξεινοι), and 19.364 (where it modifies θυμός, and hospitality is implied in the context). In place of the *hapax legomenon* εὐηγεσίης, some manuscripts read εὐεργεσίας, which occurs otherwise only in 22.235 and 374, and which is even more explicitly moral in connotation that the vulgate reading (see p. 142, n. 3). The only other occurrence of ἀρετάω is in Demodokos' song of Ares and Aphrodite, where the gods remark: οὐκ ἀρετᾶι κακὰ ἔργα [8.329].

[4] The other occurrences of ἀπηνής are: I.340, XV.94 and 202, XVI.35, XXIII.484 and 611; 18.381, 23.97 and 230. The other instance of καταράομαι is in Phoinix' speech to Achilleus, another late passage [IX.454]. The other occurrence of εἰρεψιάομαι is also in book 19 [19.370].

determine the connotations of ἀμύμων in both passages, in the first by reinforcement and in the second by contrast; it is at once obvious that ἀμύμων cannot refer to the body in either passage, but must have some moral connotation.

The question is, precisely what kind of connotation does ἀμύμων have? In the first passage Palmer renders "a blameless king" [p. 235], and Rieu "some perfect king" [pp. 290-291]. In the second passage Palmer renders line 332 by "but he who is gentle and thinks gentle thoughts" [p. 240], while Reiu gives "whereas when a man does kind things because his heart is in the right place" [p. 296]. In other words, they assume the derivation from μῶμος in the first passage, but abandon it in the second, under the pressure of the pointed contrast with ἀπηνής, harsh.

But in both passages the idea of fame is prominent, and if ἀμύμων means "free from μῶμος," its corollary should be "worthy of κλέος," and this meaning ought to be equally applicable to both passages. Actually, if one considers these passages closely in terms of μῶμος, it turns out that the idea is not quite appropriate to either. In the first, the virtue of the king is so great that the description "free from μῶμος" would fall into the category of damning with faint praise, which is surely not Odysseus' intention. In the other, the fate that Penelope evokes for the man who is the opposite of ἀμύμων, to be cursed and reviled both dead and alive, is too terrible for μῶμος to be used in connection with it (see above, pp. 29-39). In short, the idea of blame is so little relevant to either passage that the translation "blameless" is not even used for the second passage and in the first it has no special point or significance.

But the use of ἀμύμων in these two passages is intelligible if we consider them against the background of the other passages containing ἀμύμων which we have examined. As we have seen, ἀμύμων has no clear connections either with μῶμος (cf. pp. 90-92), or with other expressions meaning "blame" (cf. pp. 49-50 and Chap. II. p. 49, n. 1), but instead is regularly associated with physical excellence, that is, with beauty and strength, and in turn, with martial valor, so that Achilleus, the exemplar of these qualities, is called ἀμύμων more often than any other single figure in Homer. Then too when ἀμύμων is used to describe things, whether concrete or abstract, rather than people, the idea of "blamelessness" is clearly unsuitable in a number of passages, whereas a development from the ideas of beauty and of strength into "excellent" and

"effective" accounts satisfactorily for its use in most passages. Furthermore, we have noted in other authors a few passages in which ἀμύμων was used of people to mean "excellent" in general, including morally excellent; but in none of these was there any question of blame; see on Hesiod, of Nereus (p. 76); on Apollonius, of Phrixos (pp. 80-82); and on Quintus (p. 83 and n. 1). In these passages the language is often similar to that in our two passages, for the qualities possessed by the persons said to be ἀμύμων are intelligence, gentleness, justice, truthfulness, and fear of the gods, especially of Zeus who punishes crimes against hospitality.

Now the Iliad depicts a world of war, in which a person who is ἀμύμων in the original sense, like Achilleus, is especially admirable. The Odyssey matches to this a world of peace, in which hospitality is the counterpart of valor as the prime virtue, and in this world a man like Odysseus is seen to an advantage which he could never possess in the Iliad. Not only is hospitality one of the main themes of the Odyssey, but intertwined with it are two important motifs which throw into high relief the abuse of hospitality by the suitors; one of these represents Odysseus as an ideal king to his subjects, and just (see below, p. 145); the other represents Odysseus as the veteran of Troy who easily overcomes the arrogant, but weak, suitors (see below, p. 148). As we shall see soon, ἀμύμων is used of Odysseus in the Odyssey almost as often as it is of Achilleus in the Iliad, sometimes in its original sense, sometimes with developments that reflect Odysseus' role as an exemplar of the peacetime virtues (see below, pp. 144-154).

What we have in the two unusual passages of book 19, it seems to me, is simply the furthest extension of this development. The original meaning of ἀμύμων makes it most suitable for a warrior hero, and therefore, in the Iliad, for Achilleus. When the adjective is transferred to a hero like Odysseus, who is both warlike and domestic, the meaning of ἀμύμων inevitably gets stretched to include traits like gentleness, justice, and respect for hospitality. From there it is not a large step to use it in passages where an indefinite "king" or "whoever" exemplifies the same qualities as Odysseus.

From another point of view, the use of ἀμύμων to indicate that someone is expert in an activity or profession (see above, pp. 94-96, and below, pp. 117, 119-120) must have made some contribution to the development in meaning we see here. That is, an ἀμύμων king is a "good" king, just as a μάντις ἀμύμων, for example, is a "good"

seer, except that the criteria for goodness are somewhat different, for a seer needs primarily knowledge, and a king needs a sense of justice and respect both for the gods and for the qualities in men that they are supposed to care for, such as hospitality. Then once ἀμύμων has been used with βασιλεύς to mean "kind, just, hospitable," etc., it would be easy to use it, as Penelope does, of any man who has the same qualities as a "good" king does.

One advantage of this interpretation over the traditional one of "blameless," is that it makes intelligible the emphasis on κλέος in our two passages. In Homer, κλέος is the result, even the aim, of any excellence; it is the concern of a hero like Odysseus as much as of one like Achilleus, of a good king or a hospitable host as much as of a warrior. Its opposite, moreover, is not μῶμος, but complete anonymity, as many passages in Homer testify (see, for example, XXI.273-283 and 1.237-244); and Penelope is perfectly orthodox in assuming that the spur to an excellence which will win κλέος is mortality (cf. Sarpedon's famous speech to Glaukos [XII.310-328]), whereas, if μῶμος is involved, her remark about men being short-lived [19.328] is quite pointless.

There remains the question of the "lateness" of these uses of ἀμύμων. If one is to object to the first passage as "Hesiodic," as older scholars used to do,[1] one should be prepared to brand the second also as an interpolation, for it is, if anything, even more gnomic and unHomeric than the first. The passages clearly stand or fall together, and I should prefer to let them both stand. In spite of the oddities noted earlier, both passages also contain normal Homeric language,[2] and, though it is evident that both show "late" developments in the meaning of ἀμύμων, the combination of new

[1] See Monro, *Odyssey*, p. 153 (on 19.109-114), who condemns the lines as Hesiodic "in substance and style," and concludes that "probably we have here one of the instances of a fragment of early gnomic poetry finding its way into epic narrative." Gnomic utterances, however, are too numerous in Homer for them all to be interpolations; cf. van der Valk, *Odyssey*, pp. 202-204.

[2] In the first passage, βασιλῆος and θεουδής, as well as ἀμύμονος have their normal positions. Among the formulaic expressions which occur elsewhere are: κλέος...ἱκάνει (cf. VII.192, 8.74, and 9.20); πολλοῖσι...ἀνάσσων (cf. 15.240 and 24.26). For lines 111-113 (summarized, but not quoted, p. 109) we have: γαῖα μέλαινα (cf. II.699, XV.715, XVII.416, XX.494, and 11.587); πόρους καὶ κρίθους (cf. XI.69); θάλασσα δὲ (cf. 5.455); and ἰχθύς at the end of the line (cf. XVI.407, XXIII.692). In the second passage there are perhaps more anomalies of position, form (e.g. ζωῶι and τεθνεῶτι occur only here), and usage than in the first, but βροτοί, ἄλγε', and ἐσθλόν are in their normal

and old elements is by no means impossible.[1] It is becoming less and less possible to equate "Hesiodic" with "post-Homeric," [2] and there is no way of proving that it was not Homer himself who was responsible for the development which ἀμύμων shows. It is obvious, except to those who do not truly believe that Homer was a great artist, that our Odyssey engages in a much more profound and subtle exploration of the relations between Odysseus and Penelope than could have been usual in oral poetry, and since both passages occur in this context, they are presumably the work of the master who composed our Odyssey.[3]

In the twenty-seven passages which we have examined in this chapter, ἀμύμων shows a considerable development beyond the meanings which we observed earlier. In five passages it is used with

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positions. The formula πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους occurs (always at the beginning of a line, as here): 1.344, 3.83, 4.726 = 4.816, and 23.137. For the idiom of "knowing" gentle and harsh things, cf. for example, ἄγρια οἶδεν [XXIV.41] and ἤπια δήνεα οἶδε [IV.361]; see Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, pp. 16-17 (of the Beacon Press edition).

[1] Such combinations are particularly frequent in Homeric similes. See Shipp, *Studies*, pp. 18-103. Shipp, however, seems to imply "post-Homeric" by "late"; whereas Kirk, *Songs*, p. 202, draws (rightly, in my opinion) the opposite conclusion: "since most of the similes are highly unlikely to be post-Homeric, then the forms they contain, including the so-called 'late' forms, are not post-Homeric either."

[2] See Notopoulos, *Studies*. He argues that the whole chronology of early Greek poetry was distorted, first by the Alexandrians, then by modern scholars, who could not account for the resemblances among all early hexameter poetry except by the theory of imitation of Homer. On Hesiod as a contemporary of Homer see especially pp. 22, 26-27, and p. 71, n. 15. Kirk, *Songs*, p. 322, thinks that one "can assume that markedly *Hesiodic* features reflect the interests of singers of the first half or middle of the 7th century". But even if one does not accept Notopoulos' position, it is obvious that Hesiod drew on a previous tradition, parts of which must have been available to Homer as well.

[3] On questions like this, as on fate (see Chap. II. p. 42, n. 3), it is all but useless to argue with those whom Homer himself does not persuade. Some, like Page, think that "subtlety of soul, complexity of character, true portrayal of personality" are beyond the oral poet (*Odyssey*, p. 142). To them the whole last third of the Odyssey appears full of muddled composition and serious flaws of construction. Others, like Stanford, are sensitive to "Homer's skill in portraying personal feelings" *Ulysses*, p. 56). To these the gains more than outweigh the logical inconsistencies which occasionally result from the scope and complexity of Homer's aims. The whole question of how much and what kind of art the oral poet was capable of is just beginning to receive the attention it needs; see Notopoulos, *Studies*, 45-65; Amory, "Gates," pp. 35-40; Adam Parry, "Have We Homer's *Iliad?*", pp. 190-201, and Introduction to *The Art of Heroic Song* (forthcoming).

nouns denoting a profession or activity, namely seer, physician, and charioteers. In these passes ἀμύμων is readily understandable if it originally meant physically beautiful, for the same extension from the physical realm to the abstract is displayed by many other words meaning, roughly, beautiful, both in Greek and in other languages. The alternative assumption that ἀμύμων meant "free from μῶμος" receives no support from these passages, for in none is it clear why "blameless" would be relevant.

In nineteen passages, ἀμύμων is used with eleven different nouns denoting a variety of things, from the concrete cloth, bow, house, island, courtyard (or wall), and tomb, to the abstract escort, plan, dancing, θυμός, and praise. Again, in all these the derivation from μῶμος leaves us puzzled: why should any poet ever have thought of calling these things "blameless"? But an extension of meaning from "having a beautiful, strong, well-made body" to "beautiful, well-made, good, strong" in other ways explains all of these satisfactorily.

In two of the nineteen (with οἶκος and αἶνος) the usage of ἀμύμων is peculiar in that the adjective is predicate rather than, as normally, attributive. In the αἶνος passage it is peculiar metrically as well for ἀμύμων in the nominative appears not in its customary position at the end of the line, but in the regular position of the oblique cases, before the bucolic diaeresis.

Finally, we find in book 19 three instances of ἀμύμων which show a remarkable extension of meaning. One passage, the simile about the ἀμύμων king to whom Odysseus compares Penelope, shows a development in meaning somewhat beyond that in the passages where ἀμύμων is used of an expert seer or physician, but the development is an entirely comprehensible one; the metrical position also is regular. The other two instances both occur in a speech of Penelope's which follows Odysseus' by only a couple of hundred lines. Here both the uses of ἀμύμων are anomalous in meter and syntax, and the second in inflection as well, being the only instance of the neuter plural of this epithet in Homer. The meaning also is slightly anomalous for, though it is comprehensible as "good," it shows more definite moral connotations than in any other uses in Homer. In no one of these three instances is the hypothetical derivation from μῶμος either helpful or convincing, whereas the assumption that ἀμύμων originally referred to physical beauty provides a meaning on the basis of which the later developments into more abstract connotations are comprehensible.

CHAPTER SIX

AMYMΩN IN THE ODYSSEY EXCEPT OF ODYSSEUS AND FAMILY

In the thirty-seven remaining occurrences of ἀμύμων in the Odyssey, the adjective is applied to persons (see Appendix I, Lists 3, 5, and 6). Three times it is used to indicate that somemone is expert in an activity or profession. The phrase μάντις ἀμύμων is used twice. Once, Odysseus describes how, after Teiresias had drunk the blood, "the ἀμύμων seer addressed me in words":

καὶ τότε δή με ἔπεσσι προσηύδα μάντις ἀμύμων. [11.99]

The second instance occurs in an episode of the catalogue of fair women whom Odysseus sees in Hades. Neleus would not give his daughter Pero to any suitor except one who would drive the cattle Iphiklēeios from Phylake (to Pylos), a dangerous task; "an ἀμύμων seer alone promised to drive them forth":

. . . τὰς δ' οἶος ὑπέσχετο μάντις ἀμύμων
ἐξελάαν. [11.291-2]

Neither Teiresias nor the other seer, who is later identified as Melampos in the genealogy which establishes Theoklymenos' credentials as a seer [15.226-242],[1] is in any danger of being blamed, so the epithet would be pointless if it meant "blameless." The Odyssey therefore confirms our earlier assumptions that the expression μάντις ἀμύμων means "an expert seer" and that the connotations of "blameless" are only coincidentally appropriate in the case of Kalchas (see above, pp. 94-95). The third instance of ἀμύμων referring to skill is in the expression ἀμύμονες πυγμάχοι, in a context where it clearly means "good boxers." This instance is discussed below (see pp. 119-120); here we need only point out that the usage is analogous to that in the Iliad where ἀμύμων is applied to good charioteers (see above, p. 96).

[1] Melampos, like Bellerophontes (see p. 19), suffers peculiar misfortunes that are obscurely assigned to the gods; see χαλεπὴ δὲ θεοῦ κατὰ μοῖρα πέδησε [11.292], and ἄτης τε βαρείης, / τήν οἱ ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε θεὰ δασπλῆτις Ἐρινύς [15.233-234]. So he too can hardly be "blameless" in the sense of "not guilty," and there is, of course, no indication that he is called "blameless" in any other sense.

Of the characters who do not appear in the Iliad, the Phaiakians, collectively and individually, are the ones most frequently described as ἀμύμων. This is consonant with the fact that they were especially beautiful people, as was appropriate for ἀγχίθεοι, relatives of the gods [5.35].[1] The first of the royal line was the son of Poseidon and Periboia, who is called γυναικῶν εἶδος ἀρίστη, loveliest of women [7.57].

The king Alkinoos, who is called both θεοειδής [7.231] (see Chap. I, p. 20, n. 1) and θεοείκελος [8.256] (see Chap. III, p. 64, n. 1), is twice described as ἀμύμων, both times in relation to his sons. Once there is a miniature catalogue, similar to that employed of Tros [XX.231-232] (see above, p. 18):

ἂν δ' ἔσταν τρεῖς παῖδες ἀμύμονος 'Αλκινόοιο,
Λαοδάμας, θ' Ἅλιός τε καὶ ἀντίθεος Κλυτόνηος. [8.118-119]

Here the reference is to Alkinoos' looks, but in the second passage, ἀμύμων may have a more abstract meaning, since it is parallel to αἰδοίηι, honored (but see Appendix V): "The sons of ἀμύμων Alkinoos, receiving the very beautiful gifts [given to Odysseus], put them beside their honored mother:

δεξάμενοι δ' ἄρα παῖδες ἀμύμονος 'Αλκινόοιο
μητρὶ παρ' αἰδοίηι ἔθεσαν περικαλλέα δῶρα. [8.419-420]

One of Alkinoos' sons, Klytoneos, who is called ἀντίθεος [8.119] in the catalogue quoted just above, is also called ἀμύμων and said to be far the best runner among the Phaiakian youths:

τῶν δὲ θέειν ὄχ' ἄριστος ἔην Κλυτόνηος ἀμύμων. [8.123]

Another son, Laodamas, is used as a standard of beauty, like Achilleus in the Iliad, for another Phaiakian youth, Euryalos, is said to be "the best in form and shape of all the Phaiakians, after ἀμύμων Laodamas":

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[1] The word ἀγχίθεοι occurs only twice, only of the Phaiakians, in the phrase οἳ ἀγχίθεοι γεγάασιν [5.35 = 19.279]. The verb "were born" justifies the translation "relatives of the gods," but the fact that the word is not used of any other god-descended persons suggests that it has some more specialized meaning. And indeed we find that the Phaiakians have a very unusual relation to the gods, for Alkinoos says that the gods appear to the Phaiakians without disguise and share their feasts [7.200-203]. The Phaiakians look like the gods, are related to the giant Kyklopes who are descended from Poseidon [7.58-59], and have magic ships [8.557-563]. But as usual in Homer, there is no suggestion that "godlike" means morally admirable.

> . . . ὃς ἄριστος ἔην εἶδός τε δέμας τε
> πάντων Φαιήκων μετ' ἀμύμονα Λαοδάμαντα. [8.116-117]

This same formula is used of Aias and Achilleus (see below, pp. 124-125); with it should be compared also the similar formulas used of Aias and Nireus in the Iliad (see above, pp. 66-67) and Aias in the Odyssey (see below, p. 125).

It will be noticed that many of these references occur within relatively brief compass, a fact that makes them doubly emphatic in an episode which demonstrates to what subtle uses a traditional epithet like ἀμύμων can be put. That the Phaiakians had strong and handsome bodies is evident from the assorted references to their appearance quoted above, and from their athletic prowess as displayed in their love of games and dancing (e.g. the ball game played by Nausikaa and her maids [6.100ff.]; the games which Alkinoos holds to impress Odysseus [8.102-132]; the dances which are the Phaiakians' real forte [8.264-265 and 8.370-384]). But the repeated application of ἀμύμων to the Phaiakians inevitably has an ironic flavor against the background of the Iliad and the rest of the Odyssey, for the Phaiakians only play at being the excellent men whom we know the warriors of Troy, including Odysseus, to be in hard earnest. This contrast is conveyed in several ways; for example, Demodokos sings as entertainment for the court of Alkinoos the songs of Troy which make Odysseus weep [8.73-96 and 8.487-535]. That the poet deliberately used ἀμύμων too to evoke this contrast seems clear from the sequence of events in book 8.

After the first song of Troy, Alkinoos, noticing his guest's tears, tactfully suggests a change of entertainment: let us have some athletic contests, he says, naively adding, "so that the stranger may tell his friends when he gets home, how much we surpass other men in boxing, wrestling, jumping, and footraces":

> . . . ὥς χ' ὁ ξεῖνος ἐνίσπῃ οἷσι φίλοισιν,
> οἴκαδε νοστήσας, ὅσσον περιγιγνόμεθ' ἄλλων
> πύξ τε παλαισμοσύνῃ τε καὶ ἅλμασιν ἠδὲ πόδεσσιν. [8.101-103]

Here follow the occurrences of ἀμύμων which have just been quoted.

After a race, a wrestling match, leaping, discus hurling, and boxing have duly taken place, Laodamas asks Odysseus to compete. When he refuses, Euryalos insults him, whereat Odysseus springs up and hurls a much heavier discus much farther than the Phaiakians have done. He challenges them to match him in the other

contests, adding archery, in which he says he excelled at Troy, but all remain silent. Finally Alkinoos has to admit "we are not ἀμύμονες boxers nor wrestlers, although," he maintains stoutly, "we run swiftly and are the best of sailors":

οὐ γὰρ πυγμάχοι εἰμὲν ἀμύμονες οὐδὲ παλαισταί,
ἀλλὰ ποσὶ κραιπνῶς θέομεν καὶ νηυσὶν ἄριστοι. [8.246-247]

These lines show clearly how ἀμύμων was easily transferred from a physical reference to a more general commendation, just as we might say of an expert, "he is a beautiful boxer."

Alkinoos' speech also inevitably places in a different light the other passages in which ἀμύμων is used of the Phaiakians. To insure that the point is not missed, the poet makes Alkinoos go on to say that what the Phaiakians really like is feasting, music, dances, clean clothes, warm baths, and their beds; and he has him call on the best Phaiakian dancers to perform, so that the stranger may tell his friends when he gets home, how much we surpass other men "in sailing, running, dancing and song"—ναυτιλίηι καὶ ποσσὶ καὶ ὀρχηστυῖ καὶ ἀοιδῆι [8.253]. This should not be dismissed as a merely formulaic repetition of Alkinoos' earlier speech (quoted above, p. 119),[1] for the change in the list of sports is a pointed comment on the whole episode, including the application of ἀμύμων to the Phaiakians. But that the Phaiakians are properly ἀμύμονες to some degree, if not in the Iliadic sense, is shown by the fact that, after the dances, Odysseus not only feels wonder in his heart [8.265], but confesses that Alkinoos' (second) boast was justified [8.382-384].

In addition, we have two more instances of ἀμύμων applied to the Phaiakians, presumably referring to their beauty. When the gifts given to Odysseus by the Phaiakian nobles are mentioned, their donors are called ἀμύμονες:

δῶρα, τά οἱ Φαίηκες ἀμύμονες ἐνθάδ' ἔνειχαν. [8.428]

Even an imaginary Phaiakian is adorned with this adjective. On the way to Alkinoos' palace Odysseus meets Athena, disguised as a young girl, and she directs him to the king's house, "since he lives near my ἀμύμων father"—ἐπεί μοι πατρὸς ἀμύμονος ἐγγύθι ναίει. [7.29]

Alkinoos' daughter, Nausikaa, is also called ἀμύμων, but in a

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[1] The two preceding lines, 8.251-252, are the same as 8.101-102, except for the first words of 251 and 101.

context where ἀμύμων might be, and indeed usually is, taken to mean "blameless." When Odysseus arrives alone at the palace of Alkinoos as a suppliant, the queen recognizes and asks about the clothes he is wearing. Odysseus explains how he had slept at the shore and how he had been awakened by Nausikaa and her maids. He says that he appealed to her and that she showed unusual intelligence for a young person (ἡ δ' οὔ τι νοήματος ἤμβροτεν ἐσθλοῦ [7.292]), for she gave him food, drink, a bath, and the clothes in question. Alkinoos, however, objects that in one respect, at least, his daughter did not know the right thing to do (ἦ τοι μὲν τοῦτό γ' ἐναίσιμον οὐκ ἐνόησε [7.299]), for she should have brought the stranger to town personally. Odysseus replies that Alkinoos should not scold the ἀμύμων girl on his account:

ἥρως, μή μοι τοὔνεκ' ἀμύμονα νείκεε κούρην. [7.303]

For, he goes on to explain, she did tell him to accompany her and her maids, but he himself demurred for fear of offending Alkinoos (see Chap. II, p. 30, n. 1).

Here at last is a passage where "blameless" fits well enough to cause no discomfort, at least not immediately. Palmer renders, "Sire, do not for this reproach the blameless girl" [p. 103]. Rieu takes greater advantage of the rare opportunity to make ἀμύμων relevant and expands to: "My lord . . . your daughter is not to blame for that, and I beg you not to take her to task" [p. 120].[1] This passage is the only one in Homer where ἀμύμων is associated with a verb which is even remotely like "blame, reproach," so that, if one does not delimit the connotations of μῶμος very clearly, the line seems to be good evidence that ἀμύμων was derived from μῶμος (see, e.g., Chap. IV, p. 73, n. 1).

If, however, we take into account what we have learned about μῶμος, and if we examine the passage closely, several difficulties arise. We must remember, for one thing, that Odysseus' reply is quite false, for in fact Nausikaa did just what Alkinoos is reproaching her for; what is more, she did it specifically to avoid μῶμος, in its strict Homeric sense (see above, pp. 29-30). To retain the translation "blameless" and the derivation of ἀμύμων from μῶμος, we must not only stretch the meaning of μῶμος, but we must also sup-

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[1] Rieu's translation makes ἀμύμων predicate, but this usage is very rare in Homer (see Chap. V, p. 105 and n. 2; Chap. VII, p. 131).

pose that Homer here indulges, whether deliberately or not, in a complicated nexus of ironies.

First he makes Nausikaa act so as not to incur μῶμος from the townspeople by being seen with a strange man, but in doing this she incurs criticism from her father for a failure in hospitality. We must assume that this reproach could be designated a μῶμος, just as well as the gossip Nausikaa had been trying to avoid, though there is no evidence in Homer or elsewhere for this extension of the meaning of μῶμος. Still, an unprecedented extension of meaning is certainly possible; if ἀμύμων in Homer regularly and unambiguously meant "undeserving of μῶμος," then Odysseus would be calling Nausikaa ἀμύμων rightly in regard to the townsmen's gossip, but mendaciously as far as her father's criticism is concerned. We might then admire Odysseus for his clever word play as well as for his tact in telling a white lie at this juncture.

The ironies are perhaps possible, but the evidence for the required meanings of μῶμος and ἀμύμων is so slight, not to say lacking, that it seems altogether more likely that the connotations of "blameless" are only coincidentally appropriate here (as in the second Pandaros passage, for which see above, pp. 51-59). Odysseus then would simply be slipping in a compliment to Nausikaa's beauty, just as he did a dozen lines before, when he said parenthetically that Nausikaa among her maids looked like a goddess—ἐν δ' αὐτὴ ἔην εἴκυῖα θεῇσι [7.291]. Nor is Odysseus the only witness to her beauty, for she is compared to goddesses three more times; see Appendix II, List 10, D. 3, and I. 4 and 6 (though the third of these is again by Odysseus). She also has two epithets which refer to her looks, λευκώλενος, white-armed, (see Chap. VII, p. 132, n. 4), and εὐώπιδα [6.113 and 142], which does not recur in Homer, but which must mean "fair-faced."

Of the other characters who do not appear in the Iliad, there are only three more, plus Penelope and Telemachos, who are called ἀμύμων in the Odyssey. In the first case it is clear enough that ἀμύμων refers to beauty; in the other two it is reasonable to infer it. When Telemachos and Peisistratos arrive at Sparta, they find Menelaos celebrating the wedding feasts "of his son and of his ἀμύμων daughter (θυγατρός)":

υἱέος ἠδὲ θυγατρὸς ἀμύμονος. [4.4]

His daughter is Hermione, the child of Helen, and she is also called

ἐρατεινή, lovely [4.13], and said to have the looks of golden Aphrodite—εἶδος ἔχε χρυσέης 'Αφροδίτης [4.14] (see Appendix II, List 10).

Among the wives and daughters of heroes whom Odysseus meets in Hades, the first is Tyro, who says that she is the off-spring of ἀμύμων Salmoneus:

> ἔνθ' ἦ τοι πρώτην Τυρὼ ἴδον εὐπατέρειαν,
> ἣ φάτο Σαλμωνῆος ἀμύμονος ἔκγονος εἶναι. [11.235-236]

We have already met a variant of the second line in another genealogical passage (see above, p. 17); with the reinforcement of εὐπατέρεια, of noble lineage, in the first line, it is easy to content oneself with "noble" for ἀμύμων, as Rieu and Palmer do.[1] This episode, however, is sometimes called the catalogue of fair women, for the reason that all its members were obviously beautiful, though not all are called so explicitly. Tyro is one of those who are not, but she is loved by Poseidon, who teels her that she will bear ἀγλαά children (see Chap. II, p. 51, n. 3). These are Pelias and Neleus, the latter of whom is himself ἀμύμων (see above, p. 11), and the grandfather of ἀμύμων Antilochos (see above, pp. 50-51, and below, pp. 124-125). It is likely, therefore, that Tyro is herself beautiful, and the daughter of a handsome father.

Thirdly, there is the troublesome Aigisthos, whom we have already met in a line quoted above (p. 102; see also p. 9). In this passage the misuse of ἀμύμων as "blameless" is so blatant that no one has overlooked it. Aristarchus justified it as "ornamental" on the grounds that Aigisthos had such virtues as noble birth, beauty, and intelligence.[2] Bentley tried to emend the line to μνήσατο γὰρ κατὰ νοῦν ἀνοήμονος Αἰγίσθοιο, for which, says Parry with a nice irony, he "won only blame."[3] Parry himself was fond of using ἀμύμων Aigisthos as an example of how a recurrent epithet can become meaningless (see Intro. p. 6). If this were the only instance where ἀμύμων was inappropriate, as Parry seems to think,[4] and if the epithet were inappropriate only to the same degree as in other

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[1] Palmer, p. 147 and Rieu, p. 177. For arguments against translating ἀμύμων as "noble," see pp. 58-60. On εὐπατέρεια see Chap. II, p. 58, n. 1.

[2] See Parry, *L'Épithète*, pp. 151-152, where Aristarchus' explanation, with which Parry agrees, is quoted.

[3] Parry, "Digamma," p. 130.

[4] *L'Épithète*, p. 190: "ἀμύμων qui est employée dans Homère pour 24 héros semble convenir parfaitement à 23 d'entre d'eux mais exige une explication dans le cas au vingt-quatrième, Égisthe."

instances which we have encountered,[1] Parry's argument might be convincing. As it is, it is hard to believe that Homer was so completely insensible to the meaning of his epithets that he could use one meaning "blameless" in this particular passage, especially when he had available a perfectly appropriate alternative, ἀνάλκιδος Αἰγίσθοιο, cowardly Aigisthos (used in 3.310). But if one takes "handsome" as the basic and most common meaning of ἀμύμων, the passage needs no special pleading of any kind. As in the case of Bellerophontes (see above, p. 26), the epithet implies one cause of Aigisthos' misfortunes. Zeus, in calling him ἀμύμων, acknowledges incidentally that Klytaimnestra's adultery was not incomprehensible, but can still properly blaim Aigisthos both for the adultery and for not taking into account its consequences (his eventual murder by Orestes).

Among the characters familiar from the Iliad, there are, in addition to Odysseus, four figures who are called ἀμύμων: Peleus, the father of Achilleus; Achilleus himself; Antilochos; and Telamon, the father of Aias. The references to Peleus are brief and casual. When Odysseus meets Achilleus in Hades, the latter asks if Odysseus has heard any news of ἀμύμων Peleus:

εἰπὲ δέ μοι Πηλῆος ἀμύμονος εἴ τι πέπυσσαι. [11.494]

Odysseus replies that he has heard nothing of ἀμύμων Peleus:

ἦ τοι μὲν Πηλῆος ἀμύμονος οὔ τι πέπυσμαι. [11.505]

Peleus, of course, is also called ἀμύμων in the Iliad (see above, pp. 17-20).[2]

Achilleus and Antilochos are called ἀμύμων in passages where the reference to physical appearance is explicit. Odysseus describes to Alkinoos' court how there came to him in Hades the souls of his comrades from Troy, that of Achilleus, of Patroklos, of ἀμύμων Antilochos, and of Aias, who was the best looking of all the Danaans after ἀμύμων Achilleus:

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[1] As we have seen, and shall continue to see, ἀμύμων hardly ever "fits perfectly" and is definitely inappropriate in some passages in the cases of Poulydamas, Antilochos, Pandaros, Pedasos, and Achilleus (see above, pp. 35-41 and 48-52), although in none of these is it so blatantly unsuitable as in the Aigisthos passage.

[2] These two passages in the Odyssey are exceptions to the rule that aged persons are not called ἀμύμων (sse Chap. II, p. 55, n. 2), but they are clearly extensions of the genealogical formula used of Peleus in the Iliad, and since he is not an active character in the poem, the exceptions are not glaring.

ἦλθε δ' ἐπὶ ψυχὴ Πηληϊάδεω 'Αχιλῆος
καὶ Πατροκλῆος καὶ ἀμύμονος 'Αντιλόχοιο
Αἴαντός θ', ὃς ἄριστος ἔην εἶδος τε δέμας τε
τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλείωνα. [11.467-470]

This same little catalogue appears again, with only a minor change (εὗρον δὲ ψυχὴν at the beginning) in the second Nekyia, when the souls of the dead suitors arrive at Hades [24.15-18]. The last two lines of it combine the formula that is used of Aias in the Iliad with the variation adopted for the Phaiakian youth Euryalos (see above, pp. 67 and 118).

When Odysseus comes to describe his encounter with the soul of Aias in more detail, he says that in looks and deeds Aias surpassed the other Danaans after ἀμύμων Achilleus, this time using exactly the same formulaic lines that appear in the Iliad [11.550-551 = XVII.279-280] (see above, p. 67). For good measure he addresses Aias as the son of ἀμύμων Telamon:

Αἶαν, παῖ Τελαμῶνος ἀμύμονος, ... [11.553]

As it happens, Telamon is never elsewhere in Homer called ἀμύμων, but since he is the father of ἀμύμων Teukros (see above, pp. 13-14) and of Aias, whose physical beauty is conveyed in other terms,[1] we have here another example of the way ἀμύμων tends to be used of family groups.

As for Antilochos, not only is he called ἀμύμων in the Iliad (see above, pp. 50-51), but he is called ἀμύμων twice more in the Odyssey, in addition to the two uses of the catalogue quoted above. Once his father Nestor, at the end of a little catalogue of heroes who died at Troy, called him "my dear son, both κρατερός and ἀμύμων, who was superior as a swift runner and warrior":

ἔνθα δ' ἐμὸς φίλος υἱός, ἅμα κρατερὸς καὶ ἀμύμων,
'Αντίλοχος, πέρι μὲν θείειν ταχὺς ἠδὲ μαχητής. [3.111-112]

[1] Of course the passages in which Aias is compared to ἀμύμων Achilleus (pp. 67 and 124) imply his beauty, but it would seem that his size and strength were more notable than his beauty *per se*. His most frequent epithet is μέγας, tall (seventeen times in the Iliad). He is also called πελώριος, huge, four times [III.229, VII.211, XVII. 174 and 360].Once Hektor comments that the god has given Aias size and might: Αἶαν, ἐπεί τοι δῶκε θεὸς μέγεθός τε βίην τε [XVII.288]. Aias shares a number of epithets with those who are called ἀμύμων: ἄλκιμος (see Appendix II, List 8 A. 1a and b); ἀντίθεος (see Appendix II, List 3, A. 2a and b); δαΐφρων (see Appendix II, List 7, A. 2a and b); ἐΰς τε μέγαν τε (see Appendix II, List 2, A. 2a); and μεγάθυμος (see Appendix II, List 5, A. 4a and b).

The other description of Antilochos as ἀμύμων is by his brother, in a passage already quoted (see above, p. 102), who also comments on Antilochos' reputation as a runner and fighter [4.201-202]. We have already several times noted the connection between ἀμύμων and κρατερός (see above, p. 75). Similarly, ἀμύμων is associated with running not only in the case of Antilochos (see Chap. II, p. 52, n. 1), but also in the case of Alkinoos' son Klytoneus (see above, pp. 118-119), and implicitly throughout Homer in the case of Achilleus, who is called swift-footed (πόδας ὠκύς, ποδάρκης, etc.) even more often than he is called ἀμύμων.

The twenty-three instances of ἀμύμων, all from the Odyssey, which were examined in this chapter do not differ in any critical way from ones in the Iliad which we examined earlier. Twice ἀμύμων is used of a seer and once of boxers; these are closely analogous to the instances in the Iliad of ἀμύμων with nouns denoting a profession or activity (see above, pp. 94-96).

Of the ten instances in which ἀμύμων is used as an attributive epithet of characters who do not appear in the Iliad, the assumption that it means beautiful is more satisfactory than the one that it means "blameless." In one passage, involving Nausikaa, "blameless" is suitable, but only superficially so; as soon as the connotations of μῶμος are taken into account, difficulties arise. This passage is in any case counterbalanced by the famous one in which Aigisthos is called ἀμύμων, where "blameless" is so blatantly unsuitable that it has needed special pleading for centuries (see above, p. 123). In all ten passages there is reason to believe that the persons called ἀμύμων were especially beautiful; in three of these (the first Alkinoos, the Laodamas, and the Hermione passages) explicit associations with beauty are present. In the second, ἀμύμων Laodamas is used as a standard of beauty (compare on Achilleus above, pp. 66-68).

In ten passages, four characters familiar from the Iliad are called ἀμύμων. Three of these, Achilleus, Peleus, and Antilochos are called ἀμύμων in the Iliad also. In all the passages a reference to physical beauty is more likely than one to moral status. In the three passages in which Achilleus is called ἀμύμων, he is used as a standard for beauty.

In short, these passages from the Odyssey make even clearer the association between ἀμύμων and beauty than do the comparable passages from the Iliad which we examined in Chapters I, II, and III.

CHAPTER SEVEN

AMYMΩN OF TELEMACHOS AND PENELOPE IN THE ODYSSEY; AMYMΩN WITH NOUNS DENOTING PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS IN THE ILIAD AND ODYSSEY

The only instances of ἀμύμων now remaining to be examined are the fourteen passages in which Odysseus, Telemachos and Penelope are so described (see Appendix I, List 6). Telemachos is called ἀμύμων only once. When Penelope hears simultaneously that he has gone to Sparta and that the suitors intend to kill him as he returns, she is at first almost hysterical, then lies sleepless, without food or drink, wondering if her ἀμύμων son will escape death:

ὁρμαίνουσ' ἤ οἱ θάνατον φύγοι υἱὸς ἀμύμων. [4.789]

Finally she falls asleep, and Athena appears to her in a dream, telling her not to grieve, because her son will return, "for he has in no way offended the gods"—οὐ μὲν γάρ τι θεοῖς ἀλιτήμενός ἐστι. [4.807]. Presumably because of this statement, Rieu renders the preceding ἀμύμων as "innocent" [p. 85], and at first sight justifiably, for in addition to the explicit statement that Telemachos is not guilty of any offence towards the gods, he is also implicitly innocent in contrast to the murderous suitors.

The objection to such an interpretation is that the connotations of Homer's words are stricter than those in English, and prove, upon examination, to lack the necessary compatability. We have already seen that the suitors' actions were too heinous to be described, properly, as μῶμος-arousing (see above, pp. 29-39), even when they had only abused Odysseus' home by rowdy feasts and an over-protracted courtship. By now, when they have added projected murder to their offenses, it is still less likely that μῶμος could denote an adequate reaction to their crimes; and, in fact, the strongest language is used to condemn the suitors throughout the Odyssey (except, naturally, by the suitors themselves).[1] It seems

[1] Halitherses [2.161ff.], Nestor [3.210ff.], and Menelaos [4.332ff.] all agree that the suitors' actions warrant vengeance of the most extreme kind. The most common words used to condemn the suitors' behavior are: ἀτασθαλίη, λώβη, ὑπερβασίη, and ὕβρις. They themselves are called ἀτάσθαλοι and ὑβρισταί, among other things. Their deeds (ἔργα) are described as ἀεικέα, οὐκ ἀνσχετά,

unlikely, then, that ἀμύμων, even if it were derived from μῶμος, should be used to contrast Telemachos with the suitors.

Nor does it seem possible, when we examine the Greek, that ἀμύμων is meant as a synonym for οὐκ ἀλιτήμενος, not having offended the gods. The meaning of ἀλιταίνομαι is quite clear in Homer; it refers to such actions as mistreating suppliants, swearing falsely, failing to perform sacrifices, and dishonoring temples.[1] In short, it is restricted to the kinds of actions which the gods are supposed to punish. Athena, then, speaking to Penelope in the dream, means that Telemachos is not guilty of any transgression

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ἀτάσθαλα, θυμαλγέα, κακά and σχέτλια; other pejorative words used of them are ὑπέρβιον and ὑπερφίαλος. (Cf. the language used of the Trojans, Chap. II, p. 40, n. 1 above). The passages in which the suitors are condemned include: 1.227-229, 1.368 = 4.321, 2.63-67, 3.206-207, 4.681-695, 11.115-118, 13.193, 13.367-378, 14.81-92, 16.86-94, 16.364-391, 16.410-433, 17.499-500, 18.346-348 = 20.284-286, 20.304-319, 20.368-370, 20.392-394, 22.35-41, 22.45-67, 22.411-418, 23.63-65, 24.282, 24.326, 24.454-462. Especially interesting are 16.375-382, where even Antinoos admits that they are likely to be exiled for their crimes; and 22.46-47, where Eurymachos accepts Odysseus's denunciation of the suitors, but tries to make Antinoos (whom Odysseus has just slain) solely responsible. The word used here is αἴτιος (see Chap. II, p. 49 and n. 1.) For the way in which the suitors normally try to minimize their guilt, see Chap. II, p. 32, n. 2.

[1] The verb ἀλίταινω occurs six times in Homer, all but once in the middle. (The participle ἀλιτήμενος in our passage is always printed with a proparoxytone accent, as a non-thematic aorist middle participle, on the authority of Aristarchus; the meaning, however, seems clearly perfect—"in a state of having transgressed"). In addition, three related nouns occur: ἀλείτης, (twice), ἀλιτήμων (twice), and ἀλιτρός (three times). The offenses involved for both the verb and the nouns are: mistreatment of a suppliant [XXIV.157 = 186, 570, and 586]; false oaths [XIX.265 and XXIII.595] (see Chap. II, p. 51, n. 1); abuse of hospitality [III.28 and 20.121]; failure to perform proper sacrifices [4.378] (cf. 4.472, where the offense is specified). Once it is said that the Achaians ἀλίτοντο Athena on their way home [5.108], where it may refer to the lesser Aias' rape of Kassandra in Athena's temple, or to the sack of temples in general, or once again to failure to perform sacrifices.

Twice ἀλιτρός is used humorously, where Athena complains of Zeus [VIII.361], and Kalypso of Odysseus [5.182]. These two passages show that the words did not have the connotation of the English "sin," but rather meant "failing to behave as expected," for Athena, as Zeus' favorite, objects when for once he opposes her, while Kalypso means that Odysseus is unduly suspicious of a doting mistress. The only anomalous use is in the embassy to Achilleus when he complains that Agamemnon has cheated him and ἤλιτεν [IX.375]; that is, by taking Briseis, Agamemnon has failed to behave as a chief should towards a fellow prince and warrior. This instance does not prove that ἀλίταινω could ordinarily be used of men's behavior to each other, for there are a number of other expressions used of Achilleus which are elsewhere in Homer restricted to the gods, such as μῆνις, and ἄλγεα θῆκε.

which might lead the gods to prevent his safe return, as Menelaos, for example, was kept from getting home, for a while, because he had not made the proper sacrifices (see p. 128, n. 1). Μῶμος, on the other hand, is restricted to the human sphere, denoting gossip by a community about some comparatively trivial offense or breach of manners.

As we have seen, there is no recurrent or significant association between ἀμύμων and piety. Occasionally, people who are pious happen to be called ἀμύμων (e.g. the Aithiopians and Dares, for whom see above, pp. 13-14), but that this association is coincidental is shown by a number of passages in which people who have committed assorted crimes are also called ἀμύμων. Specifically, there are two cases involving ἀλιταίνω and ἀλιτρός, a noun derived from it. Antilochos is in danger of being ἀλιτρός in the same context in which he is called ἀμύμων in the Iliad (see above, Chap. II, pp. 50-51, and p. 51, n. 1); and in Hesiod ἀμύμων Amphitryon is said to have offended (ἤλιτεν) the gods (see above, p. 76). In only one passage is there a definite association between ἀμύμων and piety, and that is in the highly unusual simile about the good king (see above, pp. 109-115), and even there ἀμύμων and θεουδής may well be complementary rather than synonymous.

It is possible that ἀμύμων used of Telemachos is tinged with the moral connotations that appear in the simile of the good king, but, if this is so, it is strange that there are none of the peculiarities which tend to appear when ἀμύμων is used in an extended sense: the passage is not gnomic, nor are there other words denoting moral qualities in the immediate vicinity; ἀμύμων is not in an untraditional position (see above, p. 110), nor does it modify an unusual word.

In brief, there is every reason to suppose that ἀμύμων has its conventional meaning of "handsome," with the associated connotations of "strong, brave." The effect of the passage is similar to that of Thetis' lament for Achilleus (see above, pp. 63-64, 70)—one of poignancy, as Penelope faces the possibility that her son will be cut off in the prime of his youthful beauty and strength. Confirmation for this interpretation may be found in another passage in which an image similar to the one Thetis uses of Achilleus is applied to Telemachos. Eumaios, like Penelope, thinks that the suitors may succeed in killing Telemachos on his way home from Pylos, and he laments that Odysseus' son, whom the gods have made shoot up

like a sapling, may not live to fulfill the promise of matching his father's beauty:

Τηλεμάχου· τὸν ἐπεὶ θρέψαν θεοὶ ἔρνεϊ ἶσον,
καί μιν ἔφην ἔσσεσθαι ἐν ἀνδράσιν οὔ τι χέρεια
πατρὸς ἑοῖο φίλοιο, δέμας καὶ εἶδος ἀγητόν. [14.175-177]

In fact Telemachos is described as godlike in looks a considerable number of times. He is twice called ἰσόθεος (see Chap. I, p. 15, n. 2); six times θεοειδής (see Chap. I, p. 20, n. 1); and once θεοείκελος (see Chap. III, p. 64, n. 1). He is once described as "like a god in face"—θεῷ ἐναλίγκιος ἄντην [2.5]; and once as "like the immortals in form"—δέμας ἀθανάτοισιν ὁμοῖος [3.468]. Twice Athena enhances his normal beauty by shedding miraculous charm (θεσπεσίην χάριν) on him, so that all the Ithakans admire him: [1]

θεσπεσίην δ' ἄρα τῶι γε χάριν κατέχευεν 'Αθήνη.
τὸν δ' ἄρα πάντες λαοὶ ἐπερχόμενον θηεῦντο.
[2.12-13 = 17.63-64]

All in all, there is no reason to doubt that ἀμύμων has its normal meaning when it is used of Telemachos.

Penelope is called ἀμύμων in three passages, the first two of which are similar in thought, though different in expression. In the first, Odysseus, while taking his leave of the Phaiakians, wishes them good fortune, and for himself expresses this wish: "upon returning, may I find my ἀμύμων wife at home, together with my dear ones safe and sound":

. . . ἀμύμονα δ' οἴκοι ἄκοιτιν
νοστήσας εὕροιμι σὺν ἀρτεμέεσσι φίλοισι. [13.42-43]

The adjective for "safe and sound" (ἀρτεμέεσσι) is in the predicate (as it is also in its only other appearances in Homer [V.515 = VII.308]); and it is a temptation to take ἀμύμων too as predicative and translate: "May I find my wife (still) blameless (i.e. faithful to me) at home."

The objections to this interpretation are two. First, this would be the only passage which we have met so far in which ἀμύμων used of a character in the poems is not attributive (see Chap. V, p. 105 and n. 2). Second, even if we take it as attributive and

[1] See Appendix II, List 1, B. 1a and b; List 4, B. 6a-f; List 10, G. 3, and D. 2. With the lines about Athena shedding χάρις on him, compare the similar expressions used of Odysseus (pp. 150-151).

translate "My true wife may I find on coming home," as Palmer does [p. 167], this meaning for ἀμύμων is unlikely, for there is no indication in the Odyssey that Odysseus at any time has reason to doubt Penelope's faithfulness. He does consider the possibility that she may have given up hope of his return and remarried, but he himself had told her to remarry if he died at Troy: "when you see that our son has a beard, be married to whomever you wish and leave your house behind":

αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν δὴ παῖδα γενειήσαντα ἴδηαι,
γήμασθ' ᾧι κ' ἐθέλῃσθα, τεὸν κατὰ δῶμα λιποῦσα [18.269-270]

Since this shows that Odysseus would not consider Penelope blameworthy even if she had remarried, and since he always assumes elsewhere that she would remain chaste until remarried, he can hardly be using ἀμύμων to mean "faithful to me." [1]

In the second passage, Athena tells Telemachos, who is lingering at Sparta, to go home quickly, "so that you may find your ἀμύμων mother still at home":

. . . ὄφρ' ἔτι οἴκοι ἀμύμονα μητέρα τέτμῃς. [15.15]

Athena adds that Penelope's father and brothers are already urging her to marry Eurymachos and implies that she might make off with some of Telemachos' possessions, if he is not at home to see to things [15.16-23]. Now these last statements are quite false; the real reason that Athena urges Telemachos to return home is that Odysseus is already in Ithaka.

But ἀμύμων cannot signify that Penelope is innocent of these

[1] The question of Penelope's remarriage is a complicated one because a kind of "double standard" is involved. On the one hand, she is free to remarry if Odysseus is dead, and indeed expected to do so; see, in addition to Odysseus' parting words when he left for Troy (quoted above), Athena-Mentes' injunction to Telemachos to give his mother to a new husband, if he gets news of Odysseus' death [1.289-292], and also Odysseus' question to Antikleia in Hades about Penelope: has the best of the Achaians married her? [11.179].

On the other hand, it is clear that if Penelope were to avail herself of the right to remarry, she would be criticized (see Chap. II, p. 31-32 and n. 1). The decisive point, however, for the interpretation of ἀμύμων in Odysseus' speech to the Phaiakians is Odysseus' own attitude, and here the Odyssey is unambiguous. It is clearly no part of the poet's plan to have Odysseus in any doubt about Penelope's loyalty. His speech to Antikleia implies neither any doubt of Penelope's chastity, nor reproach for her possible remarriage, and indeed the question is more or less rhetorical, for he already knows from Teiresias, that Penelope has not remarried [11.115ff.] Even more plainly, his conversation with Kalypso shows that he confidently expects Penelope to be waiting for him [5.209ff.].

imputations; in accordance with the usual Homeric practice, Athena's words are a dramatic and external representation of Telemachos' own suspicions.[1] These, as it happens, are unfounded, but Homer would not represent Athena as simultaneously speaking for Telemachos in voicing his critical thoughts of Penelope, and against him by calling her in this passage "blameless" in the same breath.[2] Nor can we interpret ἀμύμων as meaning that Penelope is faithful to Odysseus any more than in the preceding case. The objection to taking ἀμύμων as predicative remains the same; and again, Telemachos recognizes Penelope's right to remarry. Athena's words do not imply that he must rush home to stop his mother from remarrying, but to look after his estate.[3]

Moreover, both these passages are formulaic variants of a line which we have already met in the Iliad, in the passage where Hektor does not find his ἀμύμων wife at home when he comes to Troy (see above, p. 13). There is no reason to suppose that ἀμύμων has any bearing on Andromache's chastity (which, like Penelope's, is taken for granted throughout); still less is there any question of remarriage; and we need not invest ἀμύμων when used of Penelope with any greater significance. There is no reason why ἀμύμων should not refer to physical appearance in all three passages, for we may safely assume that both Andromache and Penelope are beautiful, although no other epithets explicitly meaning "beautiful" are applied to Andromache besides ἀμύμων itself.[4] Penelope's

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[1] Even those who are usually reluctant to allow Homer any psychological subtlety admit that Athena's words here "correspond to what Telemachos expects and fears"; Page, *Odyssey*, p. 80, n. 14 (5). Cf. Stawell, pp. 170-171.

[2] The question of Homer's use of gods to represent the internal feelings and motivations of his characters is too complex to be discussed here, but I do not think that there is a single instance in either poem where a god who is so used speaks in a way that is not consonant with the character whose feelings he (or she) is representing.

[3] For Telemachos' recognition of Penelope's right to remarry, see his oath to Agelaos that he urges her to remarry, though he will not force her to do so [20.339-344]. It is true that this speech occurs after Telemachos knows that his father is home, but since he swears solemnly by Zeus and his father's sufferings, we may fairly take his words to represent what he would have done if Odysseus had not returned.

[4] Andromache is three times called λευκώλενος, white-armed, which implies beauty [VI.371, 377, and XXIV.723]; the first passage cited is similar to the one in which she is called ἀμύμων (see above, p. 13). The epithet is most commonly used of Hera (twenty-four times in the Iliad only); otherwise it is used only of the beautiful Helen [III.121 and 22.227], of ἀμύμων Nausikaa [6.101, 186, 251, and 7.12], of Nausikaa's mother Arete [7.233, 335, and 11.335],

beauty is conveyed both indirectly and by the use of ἀντίθεη (see Chap. I, p. 18, n. 1), as well as by comparison of her to Aphrodite and Artemis (see Chap. III, p. 64, n. 1).[1]

There is, however, another possibility which we have not yet considered. Hitherto we have not distinguished between passages in which ἀμύμων, used of person, modifies a proper name directly and those in which it modifies a word like wife (ἄκοιτις) or mother (μήτηρ). There are in fact a number of cases in which ἀμύμων modifies a noun which denotes somebody in a family or personal relation (see Appendix I, List 7). In these cases, is the use of ἀμύμων an extension of its use with a proper name, as we have been assuming, or is it, rather, analogous to its modification of nouns which denote people in regard to a skill? That is, for example, does the phrase ἀμύμων ἄκοιτις mean that Penelope is (and Andromache too) "a good wife," with all the qualities considered desirable in a wife, much as μάντις ἀμύμων means "a good prophet"?

To answer these questions we must survey again briefly some of the passages which we have already discussed, to see which assumption gives the most satisfactory meaning for the largest number of passages. Of the instances which we examined first (see above, pp. 11-12), Alkimedon, Deukalion, Rhigmos, are each called the ἀμύμων υἱός (son) of someone; Laodokos is called the ἀμύμων ἑταῖρος (comrade) of Antilochos; and the phrase παῖδες ἀμύμονες is applied to the sons of Portheus and of Nestor. Of these only in the final instance does the context contain anything to make "good,

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and of handmaids [6.239, 18.198, and 19.60]. Andromache's beauty is also perhaps implied in the passage in which she takes Astyanax into her fragrant bosom—κηώδεϊ κόλπωι [VI.483], a unique expression. The only other epithet used of her is πολύδωρος, richly-dowered [VI.394].

[1] For the direct descriptions of Penelope as beautiful, see Appendix II, Lists 3 and 10. Athena enhances her normal beauty (προσώπατα καλά), as she does that of Telemachos (see p. 130) [18.192ff.]. Her beauty is conveyed also by its effect upon the suitors [18.212-213, and 245-249]. It is true that her beauty is admittedly inferior to Kalypso's [5.211-218], and that Penelope herself claims that she lost her beauty when Odysseus went to Troy [18.180-181, 251-253 = 19.124-126], but Homer uses these statements for a special purpose (see below on the similar statements about Odysseus' looks, pp. 152-153). They do not justify the condescending comments on Penelope's looks that are found in many modern discussions of her; see, e.g., Woodhouse, *Odyssey*, pp. 200-201 and MacKay, "Penelope," p. 124; their descriptions of her as having "a comfortable plump freshness" and as being "almost the baby-doll type" have not a shred of support in the text.

dutiful" etc. a more meaningful rendition of ἀμύμων than "handsome." In the other cases it is possible that the poet means ἀμύμω- to refer to their qualities as sons (or as a comrade, in the case of Laodokos) rather than to their looks, but there is nothing to make his intention clear, and "handsome" is at least as appropriate as "good." Moreover, we must take into account the fact that the formulas υἱὸς ἀμύμων and παῖδες ἀμύμονες are used elsewhere in passages which contain some indication that ἀμύμων refers to physical appearance, and in which the idea of filial duty is clearly irrelevant. This is true in the cases of the παῖδες ἀμύμονες of Tros (see above, p. 18); of Agenor, the ἀμύμων υἱός of Antenor (see above, pp. 20-22); and of Pandaros, twice called the ἀμύμων υἱός of Lykaon (see above, pp. 51-54).

For Laodokos the only parallel is the passage in which Patroklos is called the ἀμύμων ἕταρος (= ἑταῖρος) of Achilleus (see above, p. 133), in which either interpretation is possible. The fact that ἀμύμων is twice used of Patroklos directly with his name makes it perhaps somewhat more likely that ἀμύμων means "handsome" than "good" even with ἕταρος, but here the question must be left open.

In the cases of Antilochos, when he is called the ἀμύμων υἱός of Nestor in the Odyssey (see above, p. 133) and of Hermione, who is described as the θυγάτηρ ἀμύμων of Menelaos (see above, p. 114), the contexts are such that "good son" and "good daughter" are fitting, but both passages also include clear references to physical beauty. And for Antilochos, as for Patroklos, there are other passages in which ἀμύμων is used directly with his name (see above, pp. 50-51, 102, 90, and 124-126). Here then the weight of probability is that ἀμύμων means "handsome."

When the little Phaiakian girl whose shape Athena assumes refers to her ἀμύμων πατήρ (father), ἀμύμων might mean either "good" or "handsome" (see above, p. 120). But "handsome" is preferable since it is more natural for a girl speaking to a stranger to praise her father with an epithet which signifies something generally and objectively true about him than for her to describe him in a special relation to herself and one, moreover, which is a matter of subjective judgment.[1]

[1] At least it is more natural in Homer. Characters ordinarily recognize each other, but on the occasions when they do identify themselves, they refer to their fathers with the same kinds of adjectives as are common in catalogue

When Odysseus refers to Nausikaa as an ἀμύμων κούρη (see above, pp. 121-123), it is at first sight possible to take κούρη as "daughter" and ἀμύμων as "good," so that Odysseus is replying to Alkinoos' criticism of Nausikaa with "Don't scold your daughter (who is) good," (that is, the kind of daughter any man should be proud to have). There are, however, several objections to this interpretation on closer scrutiny. Not only must we take ἀμύμων in the predicate, a construction which is not securely attested for any passage in which it is used of a character in the poems (see above, p. 122), but also we are left with the same complicated irony as when we try the traditional "blameless," for Alkinoos' criticism is in fact justified, and Odysseus' defense of Nausikaa is more chivalrous than honest (see above, pp. 111-113). Moreover, although κούρη in Homer regularly means "daughter," it so happens that when it is used of Nausikaa, as it is in a number of other passages, it always means "girl." [1] Finally, we must bear in mind in as-

passages, that is, those referring to looks, bravery, wealth, etc. Asteropaios tells Achilleus that his father is Pelegon, "famous with the spear" [XXI.159]; see Appendix III, List 3, A. No. 10 and cf. δουρικλυτός, (Chap. II, p. 60, n. 1) The disguised Hermes tells Priamos that his father is Polyktor, a rich man (ἀφνειός; cf. p. 12) [XXIV.398]. Athena-Mentes tells Telemachos that she is the son of δαΐφρων Anchialos [1.180]; see Chap. I, p. 25, n. 2 and Appendix II, List 7. Nausikaa tells Odysseus that she is the daughter of μεγαλήτωρ Alkinoos [6.196], an epithet which is roughly synonymous with μεγάθυμος, for which see Chap. I, p. 21, n. 1. Eumaios tells the beggar (Odysseus) that his father is Ktesios, ἐπιείκελος ἀθανάτοισιν [15.414]; cf. Chap. III, p. 64, n. 1 and Appendix II, List 10. Eumaios' nurse tells some Phoinikian sailors that she is the daughter of Arybas, a rich man (ἀφνειός; cf. on Hermes above) [15.426]. Odysseus (in disguise) tells Penelope that his father is μεγάθυμος Deukalion [19.180]; cf. Chap. I, p. 21, n. 1 and Appendix II, List 50; to Laertes he says that his father is ἄναξ Apheidas [24.305]; cf. on Teukros, Chap. II, p. 57, end of n. 1.

[1] In the Iliad, κούρη is used forty-four times. Twenty-five times it means "daughter", sixteen times it means "girl," and three times it is used in transitional passages where the meaning "girl" fits, but where the idea of "daughter" is prominent close by [I.98, V.875, XVI.7] (the last is a simile). Of the sixteen times it means "girl," fourteen refer to Briseis; one refers to Chryseis [I.111]; the last is a short simile, "like a girl" (ἠΰτε κούρη) [II.872]. In the Odyssey, κούρη is used sixty-eight times. Forty-eight times it means "daughter," three passages are transitional, as in the Iliad [8.319, 18.279, and 20.77], and seventeen times it means "girl." Of these last, twelve refer to Nausikaa, including our passage, which is the only one where "daughter" is a possible rendition, although the idea is close by in a few other passages (i.e. some reference to her father, or to θυγάτηρ, follows in the next line). Of the other five, four refer to maids and one to a Laistrygonian girl.

I have set forth this evidence at length because it demonstrates that a "late" meaning is not necessarily post-Homeric. The phrases in which κούρη

sessing both this passage and the preceding one, that ἀμύμων is used not infrequently of other Phaiakians, generally in passages where the reference to beauty is plain (see above, pp. 118-120). All in all, it seems more likely that ἀμύμων refers to physical beauty than to family relations in these two passages.

Then, when Thetis speaks of her υἱὸς ἀμύμων, or laments the fate of her παῖς ἀμύμων (see above, p. 65), are we being invited to think of Achilleus as an ideal son? Such an interpretation is possible, but it is not one that is particularly relevant to the main concerns of the Iliad. It is true that Thetis has no complaints of Achilleus as a son, only grief for his short life, but her function in the poem is surely to show how much Achilleus' heroism costs in human terms and to symbolize the purity and pre-eminence of his heroism (see especially XXIV.57-63). If we interpret ἀμύμων in these passages as meaning that Achilleus is a "good" son, we misplace the emphasis, for Achilleus' heroism does not lead him to an early death merely to enhance the poignancy of his relations with his mother. In short, the interpretation already offered for the two passages in question (see above, pp. 66, 70), seems more satisfactory in view of the whole poem and also more appropriate to the immediate contexts than the one we are considering now.

In the passage in which Telemachos is called υἱὸς ἀμύμων (see above, p. 127), the rendition "a good son" is definitely unsuitable in the context, for Penelope is angry at him for going off to Pylos without even telling her, as well as worried about his safety [4.707-710 and 727-741]. Moreover, Homer gives a most convincing picture of the strains that exist between an adolescent son who is anxious to assume the responsibilities of manhood and a mother who has powerful reasons for wishing to keep him a child.[1] Tele-

means "daughter" seem to be the original ones in epic, for they are not only much more numerous, but they are standard formulas, with the father in the genitive, like κούρη 'Ικαρίοιο, of Penelope, always at the beginning of a line, and κούρη Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο, of Athena, Helen, and Artemis, always at the end of a line. The phrases in which it means "girl" would seem to be a later development because many of these are unique phrases and κούρη is not fixed in position. But, since the large majority of these refer to Briseis and Nausikaa, not many scholars could be found to consider them post-Homeric interpolations.

[1] Penelope's reasons are not just that she is, in modern terms, unduly over-protective. It is rather that, as the story is told in our Odyssey, once she admits that Telemachos is grown-up, she must recognize his right to inherit Odysseus' estate and for him to do that she must agree to marry one of the suitors, which she is reluctant to do; cf. p. 131. It is worth stating this,

machos towards Penelope is peremptory [1.345ff.] and exasperatingly secretive, not only about the project of his journey, but also, less justifiably, in refusing to satisfy her curiosity about what he learned while away [17.40ff.], as well as unjustly suspicious and critical of her (see above, pp. 49 and 131-132 and cf. 16.33ff.). In view of this and also of the emphasis on Telemachos' good looks, the rendering "handsome" is preferable to "good" for ἀμύμων in this passage.

Similarly, the phrase ἀμύμων μήτηρ used of Penelope (see above, pp. 131-132), can scarcely be intended to mean that she is "good" *qua* mother, for the faults are not all on Telemachos' side. Penelope is prone to exaggerate his lack of maturity, and although she has good reason to do this from her point of view (see p. 136, n. 1), her attitude is understandably irritating to Telemachos. For example, she delivers an especially infuriating and unfair rebuke to him in front of the suitors and the beggar [18.215ff.]. Telemachos, though visibly angry and a little disconcerted, still replies with admirable dignity and aplomb considering the circumstance that he knows the beggar to be his newly-returned father before whom he naturally wishes to appear to advantage.

But the question with which we began, that is, whether the phrase ἀμύμων ἄκοιτις means "a good wife," can be answered differently, for Penelope is presented as an ideal wife for Odysseus in our Odyssey. Indeed Homer seems deliberately to have unveiled the difficulties between Telemachos and Penelope partly in order to point up the mutual understanding that exists between Odysseus and Penelope (see, e.g., 23.97-122). Even if one does not wish to allow Homer this degree of psychological and artistic subtlety, one must admit that Penelope is presented as a pattern of wifely virtue in contrast to Klytaimnestra (see below, pp. 138-143). But since beauty is included as one of Penelope's qualities as a wife, it remains a matter of individual judgment whether we choose "beautiful" or "good" for ἀμύμων in this passage.

In the case of Andromache, however, there are many, I imagine, who would prefer to interpret the phrase ἀμύμων ἄκοιτις as "good

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though it is obvious enough, because many scholars have a tendency to underestimate both her reluctance to remarry and the mounting pressure on her, once the suitors plan to kill Telemachos, to end the stalemate with the suitors. Similarly, those who have commented on the relations between Penelope and Telemachos blame her unduly (cf. Stawell, p. 127ff.), whereas the fault is quite evenly divided.

wife." There is a definite (though implicit) contrast between her domestic virtue and Helen's dependence upon sexual appeal, and Andromache's beauty is not emphasized as clearly as Penelope's. At any rate, Andromache, especially in the famous scene with her husband and infant son [VI.394ff.], has a domestic charm that few readers have been able to resist. Even hardened analysts sound as if they would marry her in a minute, if they could. But to appreciate Penelope's attractions requires a far more special taste, if we are to judge from the petulant tone often found about her in the writings of unitarians and analysts alike.

Others might differ in their assessments of this or that passage, but I think that the general consensus would be somewhat as follows. In three cases the contexts and characters are such that ἀμύμων quite possibly, even probably, shows some development in the direction it took with seer, physicians, etc., so that the epithet can indicate that Penelope and Andromache are ideal wives and that the sons of Nestor are properly dutiful. In two passages, however (Penelope as mother and Telemachos as son) this connotation is improbable. In all the rest of the passages, either there is a definite indication that ἀμύμων refers to beauty, or the meaning "handsome" is preferable for some other reason (as in the cases of Nausikaa and Achilleus), or the context provides no indication one way or the other. But in all cases "beautiful" is possible, and in no case is "good" necessary, as it is with ἰητήρ, for example. Therefore it appears that ἀμύμων modifying nouns that denote people in personal or family relations refers primarily to appearance, just as it does when it modifies proper names, but it is also true that the overtones of "good" are not always ruled out.

In the third and final passage where Penelope is called ἀμύμων, the adjective is applied directly to her name, and the lines are important enough to be worth quoting in full. They occur in the second Nekyia; after Agamemnon has heard from the ghost of one of the suitors how Odysseus returned and took his vengeance for their abuse of his hospitality, he voices a tribute to Penelope's virtue, saying that she will have good fame forever, and contrasting her with his own wife, Klytaimnestra, who won ill-repute by plotting her husband's death:

ὄλβιε Λαέρταο πάϊ, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ,
ἦ ἄρα σὺν μεγάλῃι ἀρετῆι ἐκτήσω ἄκοιτιν·

ὡς ἀγαθαὶ φρένες ἦσαν ἀμύμονι Πηνελοπείηι,
κούρηι Ἰκαρίου· ὡς εὖ μέμνητ' Ὀδυσῆος,
ἀνδρὸς κουριδίου. τῶι οἱ κλέος οὔ ποτ' ὀλεῖται
ἧς ἀρετῆς, τεύξουσι δ' ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἀοιδὴν
ἀθάνατοι χαρίεσσαν ἐχέφρονι Πηνελοπείηι,
οὐχ ὡς Τυνδαρέου κούρη κακὰ μήσατο ἔργα,
κουρίδιον κτείνασα πόσιν, στυγερὴ δέ τ' ἀοιδὴ
ἔσσετ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους, χαλεπὴν δέ τε φῆμιν ὀπάσσει
θηλυτέρηισι γυναιξί, καὶ ἥ κ' εὐεργὸς ἔηισιν. [24.192-202]

Palmer's translation of this passage reads:

> Fortunate son of Laertes, ready Odysseus! You won a wife full of all worth. How upright was the heart of true Penelope, the daughter of Icarius! How faithful to Odysseus, the husband of her youth! Wherefore the story of her worth shall never die; but for all humankind immortal ones shall make a gladsome song in praise of steadfast Penelope. Not like the daughter of Tyndareus did she contrive vile deeds and slay the husband of her youth. Of her a loathsome song shall spread among mankind, and bring an ill-repute on all the sex of women, even on well-doers too. [p. 288].

Rieu renders as follows:

> Unconquerable Odysseus! Ah, happy prince, blessed in Icarius' daughter with a wife in whom all virtues meet, flawless Penelope who has proved herself so good and wise, so faithful to her wedded love! Her glory will not fade with the years, but the deathless gods themselves will make a song for mortal ears, to grace Penelope the constant queen. What a contrast with Clytaemnestra and the infamy she sank to when she killed her wedded lord! Her name will be cursed wherever she is sung. She has branded all her sex, with every honest woman in it. [p. 356]

It is notable that our translators here avoid their usual favorite, "blameless," Palmer substituting "true" and Rieu "flawless," in spite of the facts that the general tone of the passage is moral and that some form of blame is involved in the "loathsome song" (στυγερὴ ἀοιδή) and "ill-repute" (χαλεπὴν φῆμιν) which Agamemnon says await Klytaimnestra. As Rieu and Palmer have observed, however, the opposite of these expressions in the passage is not ἀμύμων, but the imperishable fame (κλέος) and lovely song (ἀοιδὴν χαρίεσσαν) which are Penelope's due. In any case, as we have remarked before, μῶμος and κλέος do not have a reciprocal relation to each other (see above, pp. 113-114), nor would μῶμος be an

adequate description of a proper reaction to a woman like Klytaimnestra, as is indicated by the stronger expressions which Agamemnon uses.[1] All in all, the passage offers little support for the notion that ἀμύμων is connected with μῶμος.

Even so, the question remains, does ἀμύμων here refer to looks, or does it have a developed meaning? The latter would not be surprising in view of the moral tone of the passage, especially since the lines appear to be late. At least, the idea of the gods themselves making a song in tribute to a mortal is unique in Homer, although the various elements from which it must have developed are clear enough. First, the ideas of having some special endowment, of being dear to the gods, and of having everlasting fame are closely connected. Then song is regularly god-given and bards regularly divinely taught in Homer. Song is one of the main vehicles for κλέος, and another is a lasting and visible grave. Graves are normally man-made, but once the gods are said to bury the children of Niobe and leave stones as a memorial, and some echo of stories like this may account for the unusual verb τεύχουσι which is not normally used of making a song in Homer, but commonly refers to the manufacture of objects. The combination of all, or of some, of these ideas might easily produce the striking statement in our passage.[2]

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[1] In itself, or when modified by an adjective like ἀδευκής, φῆμις is almost an equivalent of μῶμος; see Chap. II, p. 32 and n. 1. But when modified by an adjective as strong as χαλεπή, it clearly indicates a more severe censure, as is shown also by the only other use of the expression χαλεπὴ φῆμις, in a false tale of Odysseus' [14.239], where it is called forth by cowardice, a more serious charge than the kind of gossip referred to by Nausikaa (p.32). The word στυγερή is also a strong one, for it literally means connected with death (see, e.g., XXII.482-83, 17.8, 20.81), and then, metaphorically, "as hateful as death." Very often some of the original literal meaning is present, as it is here, inasmuch as Klytaimnestra caused Agamemnon's death (cf. 3.310 and 11.326).

[2] For the first group of ideas see, e.g. Agamemnon's statement to Achilleus in the second Nekyia [24.92-94]. On the connection between the gods and bards and song see XIII.731, 8.44, 64, 481, 488 and 498, 17.518-19, 22.347. Cf. the frequent use (twelve times) of the adjective θεῖος with ἀοιδός, and the adjectives θεσπέσιη and θέσπις, both of which are applied to ἀοιδή [II.599-600, 1.328, 8.498]. On the connection between song and κλέος see, e.g. VI.357-358, 1.351, 8.73-74, 8.580. On the importance of a visible grave see again Agamemnon to Achilleus [24.80-84] (cf. p. 106). For the Niobe passage see XXIV.602ff. and cf. the passage in which Poseidon turns the Phaiakian ship which took Odysseus home to stone (as a warning rather than as a memorial, strictly speaking) [13.149ff.], as well as the portent at Aulis [II.308-321]. As for the verb τεύχω, of course it is often used metaphorically in Homer, but usually then with the meanings "cause" or, in the passive, "become, happen"; it is hard to find a use which is really parallel to the one in our passage.

In trying to assess the meaning of ἀμύμων, we must analyze the passage more carefully, for it is not as uniformly moral in tone as the translations of Rieu and Palmer make it sound. First of all, in the renditions "full of all worth" and "in whom all virtues meet" for the phrase σὺν μεγάλῃι ἀρετῆι, not only does "all" exaggerate μεγάλη, great, but both "worth" and "virtue" are too narrow and too specifically moral for ἀρετή. In the Odyssey ἀρετή used of Penelope refers primarily to her beauty, but also to her intelligence, skill, and handicrafts—in short to everything that makes her desirable as a woman and wife, just as ἀρετή used of Odysseus refers to his bravery, strength, and intelligence.[1]

On the other hand Palmer's "how upright was the heart" is a fair rendering of ἀγαθαὶ φρένες, since this phrase is used primarily of moral feelings rather than of intellectual capabilities. For example, in an instructive parallel passage, Nestor says that Klytaimnestra did not at first succumb to Aigisthos' disgraceful proposals, "for she followed the dictates of upright thought"—φρεσὶ γὰρ κέχρητ' ἀγαθῆισι [3.266]. Exactly this same phrase occurs twice more in the Odyssey, once of the admirable swineherd Eumaios, who did not forget to sacrifice to the gods in preparing a meal [14.421], and once of Amphinomos, the only decent-minded suitor, who is said to commend himself to Penelope more than his confreres because of his decency, and who dissuades the other suitors from killing Telemachos [16.398].[2] In view of these passages, it is clear that Agamemnon in using the phrase ἀγαθαὶ φρένες of Penelope, intends to praise her moral uprightness not only in general, but specifically for remaining faithful to Odysseus and, even more, in not planning to kill him.

Conversely, to render εὖ μέμνητ' as "how faithful" is to overstress

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[1] Passages in which the nature of Penelope's ἀρετή is indicated include 2.206 (cf. 2.116-122) and 18.251-255 = 19.124-128. The ingredients and nature of Odysseus' ἀρετή are indicated in, for example, 4.725 = 4.815, 12.211, and 18.205.

[2] The expression ἀγαθαὶ φρενές occurs only once in the Iliad, in the same speech in which Athena complains that Zeus is ἀλιτρός (see p. 128, n. 1 above), she says that her father rages improperly—φρεσὶ μαίνεται οὐκ ἀγαθῆισι [VIII. 360]. There is some difference in tone here, such as often occurs when the gods speak to or about each other, but the reference is still clearly not intellectual, but to proper conduct. Cf. the similar expression ἀγαθὰ φρονέοντα used of Bellerophontes (see p. 25) and once (with the participle in the nominative) in the Odyssey [1.43]. But in the passage where Nestor, giving advice to Antilochos before the chariot race [XXIII.305], ἀγαθά and φρονέων do not go together.

the moral aspect, for Agamemnon merely says "how well she remembered" her husband. It is true that the verb μνάομαι may mean "be mindful of one's obligations towards" somebody or something, as well as merely signify the purely mental act of recollection, but "remember" in English has these same connotations and is, therefore, an adequate translation.[1] Similarly, it distorts the tone, not greatly perhaps, but discernibly, to translate ἐχέφρονι by "steadfast" and "constant," for this adjective is used six other times of Penelope without any particular reference to her marital fidelity. Moreover, from two other passages, it is clear that ἐχέφρων has primarily an intellectual connotation, so it would be best rendered here by "intelligent" or "clever."[2]

It should perhaps be added that the most strictly moral word in the passage has nothing to do with Penelope, nor with ἀμύμων, that is, the rare word εὐεργός in the last line. Palmer fairly represents its meaning,[3] but Rieu's rendering "every honest woman" is unfortunate since the whole point of the passage is that, although Klytaimnestra's deed was so monstrous that she brings even virtuous women into ill-repute, Penelope is specifically exempted from this undeserved fate.

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[1] For another example of μνάομαι meaning "remember one's obligations" see the lines spoken by Mentor and Athena about Odysseus (p. 145); there Palmer contents himself with "remember" [pp. 44 and 78], and Rieu with "give a (single) thought to" [pp. 43 and 88], although the use of μνάομαι is almost an exact parallel for its use in Agamemnon's speech. Penelope herself makes several remarks which illuminate the role that memory played in her patience in waiting for Odysseus: τοίην γὰρ κεφαλὴν ποθέω μεμνημένη αἰεὶ / ἀνδρός [1.343]. Of Odysseus' house, which she will have to leave if she remarries, she says: τοῦ ποτε μεμνήσεσθαι οἴομαι ἔν περ ὀνείρωι [19.581 = 21.79]. She also explains her hesitation in recognizing Odysseus by saying that she knows too well what he looked like when he left for Troy: μάλα δ' εὖ οἶδ' οἷος ἔησθα / ἐξ 'Ιθάκης ἐπὶ νηὸς ἰών [23.175-176].

[2] The other passages in which ἐχέφρων is used of Penelope are 4.111, 13.406, 16.130, 458, 17.390, and 24.294. Two passages which show the meaning of the epithet most clearly, and which make it plain that its reference is intellectual, not moral, are 13.332 and 19.326. For a discussion of the first of these see Stanford, *Ulysses*, p. 109, and p. 251 n. 17.

[3] The adjective εὐεργός occurs only in the Odyssey, only three times: once again of Klytaimnestra [11.434] and of Eumaios' wicked nurse [15.422]; both of these lines are the same as the one in our passage [24.202]. The adjective εὐεργής occurs also, but always of physical objects with the meaning "well-made" except in the neuter genitive plural, εὐεργέων, which occurs twice with the meaning "good deeds" [4.695, 22.319]. Cf. the noun εὐεργεσίη which is used as an antonym of κακοεργίης [22.374]; it recurs in 22.235 and is a variant reading for εὐηγεσίης in 19.114 (see Chap. V, p. 111 and n. 3).

In short, the passage has more meaning if we see that Agamemnon is praising Penelope not for her moral rectitude alone, but her ἀρετή as a whole. This is made clear by the phrasing of the passage, in which σὺν μεγάλῃι ἀρετῇι at the beginning and its echo ἧς ἀρετῆς later sum up the attributes which will result in her imperishable fame. The separate attributes are then indicated by the two verbal phrases, ὡς ἀγαθαὶ φρένες ἦσαν and ὡς εὖ μέμνητ', and by the two epithets, ἀμύμονι and ἐχέφρονι. The verbal phrases between them cover her marital fidelity to Odysseus and her moral uprightness which made her refrain from murder as well as adultery, and ἐχέφρων refers to her intelligence. If these were not present, then it would be necessary to stretch ἀμύμων to cover the intangible qualities whose fame will be imperishable. But as it is, her possession of these qualities is made more significant if we give ἀμύμων its normal meaning and make it refer to her beauty, since without the beauty which subjected her to temptation, her loyalty to Odysseus would not be so praiseworthy. Moreover, ἀρετή in Homer regularly includes some reference to excellence of physical endowment (see p. 141, n. 1), and it would be very odd indeed if the list of attributes which make up Penelope's ἀρετή did not include a specific mention of her beauty.

CHAPTER EIGHT

AMYMΩN OF ODYSSEUS IN THE ODYSSEY

Of the ten passages in which Odysseus is called ἀμύμων, four are nearly the same. In all four someone swears an oath that Odysseus will return to Ithaka, taking as witnesses "Zeus, and the hospitable table and the hearth of ἀμύμων Odysseus, to which I have come":

ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς πρῶτα θεῶν ξενίη τε τράπεζα,
ἱστίη τ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀμύμονος, ἣν ἀφικάνω.

The circumstances and the substance of the oath vary somewhat, but in all four passages these two lines are the same, with one small variation.[1]

On the first occasion, Odysseus himself, disguised as the beggar, is talking to the faithful swineherd, Eumaios, and he swears that Odysseus will be home soon [2] and take revenge on anyone who is dishonoring his wife and son [14.158-164]. On the second, the visiting seer, Theoklymenos, is talking to Penelope; he swears that Odysseus is already home, sowing evil for all the suitors [17.155-159]. On the third, Odysseus is once again the speaker, this time to Penelope, and here there is no reference to the suitors [19.303-307]. In the fourth passage, Odysseus, still disguised, tells the cowherd Philoitios that Odysseus will arrive while he (Philoitios) is there and that he will see Odysseus slaughtering the suitors, who are lording it in the palace [20.231-234].

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[1] 14.158-159 = 17.155-156 = 20.230-231 exactly; in 19.303-304 the phrase ὕπατος καὶ ἄριστος, modifying Zeus, is substituted for ξενίη τε τράπεζα.

[2] In 14.161 and 19.306 it is specified that Odysseus will be present τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ λυκάβαντος. No one is sure what λυκάβας means (see Monro, and Stanford, *Odyssey, ad loc.*), but it is clear from the Odyssey that the oath depends for its effect on the fact that it predicts Odysseus' almost immediate appearance in Ithaka. Cf. Lee, "Homeric λυκάβας," p. 170, who argues against both the traditional interpretation of "year" and Stanford's suggestion (*Odyssey*, on 14.161-2): "in the time when one *moontide* is waning and the other taking its place"; his own suggestion is that "the dramatic situation requires the phrase to mean 'that very coming feast-day of Apollo'," that is, "the feast day of Apollo held on the old-moon-new-moon-day" (p. 171). So far Lee is convincing, but his attempt to prove that the feast day was at the beginning of spring (pp. 171-172) is sketchy, and his further attempt (pp. 172-182) to identify Apollo Lykeios with Apollo Smintheus "from a *λυκ=mouse—neither 'wolf' nor 'light' " is very dubious.

Before we attempt to ascertain the meaning of ἀμύμων in this oath, let us survey the remaining six passages in which Odysseus is called ἀμύμων. Only in the first is there anything in the context to suggest that ἀμύμων may have moral overtones. In the assembly of Ithakans, after Telemachos has announced his plan of going abroad for news of his father, Mentor rises to speak. He is said to be "a comrade of ἀμύμων Odysseus"—'Οδυσῆος ἀμύμονος ἦεν ἑταῖρος [2.225], and he goes on to speak of Odysseus as an ideal king. He says that no king should bother to be gentle and kind (ἤπιος, see Chap. II, p. 42, n. 1) and have upright principles, but should be harsh and do wicked things, since no one of the people over whom he ruled remembers god-like Odysseus, although he was gentle as a father:

μή τις ἔτι πρόφρων ἀγανὸς καὶ ἤπιος ἔστω
σκηπτοῦχος βασιλεύς, μηδὲ φρεσὶν αἴσιμα εἰδώς,
ἀλλ' αἰεὶ χαλεπός τ' εἴη καὶ αἴσυλα ῥέζοι,
ὡς οὔ τις μέμνηται 'Οδυσσῆος θείοιο
λαῶν οἷσιν ἄνασσε, πατὴρ δ' ὣς ἤπιος ἦεν. [2.230-235]

These lines are repeated later by Athena [5.8-12], without Odysseus being called ἀμύμων in the vicinity, but we have already examined another passage expressing the ideal king motif, where ἀμύμων did seem to have developed moral connotations [19.107-114] (see above, pp. 109-114). The language in the lines from book 2 is similar enough in tone to that in book 19 (although as a matter of fact none of the same words is used), that it is a real possibility that ἀμύμων in book 2 is meant to have the same kind of meaning as it does in 19. After the lines quoted above, Mentor ends by chiding, not so much the suitors for their deeds of violence (for he implies that Odysseus will take his revenge on them), as the other Ithakans for not restraining the young men.

None of the other passages provides so moralistic a context for ἀμύμων, but most of them mention the suitors. In one Odysseus calls himself ἀμύμων; in the first words that he, still disguised as the beggar, addresses to Telemachos, he expresses indignation at the suitors' behavior and indicates that he would help Telemachos get rid of them, if only he were young, wishing that he were "a child of ἀμύμων Odysseus or Odysseus himself come home from his wanderings":

ἢ παῖς ἐξ 'Οδυσῆος ἀμύμονος ἠὲ καὶ αὐτὸς
ἔλθοι ἀλητεύων. [16.100-101]

The next passage occurs during the famous digression describing the boar hunt on which the youthful Odysseus first tested his valor. Odysseus killed the boar, but not before the beast had gored his leg; his uncles gathered round to bind up "the wound of godlike (ἀντίθεος), ἀμύμων Odysseus":

ὠτειλὴν δ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀμύμονος ἀντιθέοιο. [19.456]

This passage is unique among the ten in containing an explicit reference to Odysseus' looks (in ἀντιθέοιο; see Chap. I, p. 18, n. 1).

Then Philoitios, whom we have already met as the recipient of one of the oaths in which Odysseus calls himself ἀμύμων (see above, p. 144), refers to Odysseus as ἀμύμων. When he first meets the beggar, the stranger's looks and plight recall his absent (as he thinks) master. If he is alive, says Philoitios, he must be in the same case as the beggar, but if he is dead, "then alas for ἀμύμων Odysseus, who put me in charge of his cattle while I was still a boy":

ὤ μοι ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀμύμονος, ὅς μ' ἐπὶ βουσὶν
εἶσ' ἔτι τυτθὸν ἐόντα. [20.209-210]

The herds have increased marvellously, he goes on to say, but he complains of the depredations caused by the suitors' feasts.

The last two passages both involve the bow of Odysseus. When Penelope announces that she will marry whichever of the suitors can string the great bow of Odysseus, Antinoos says that the contest will not be easy, "for there is no one among all of us here who is such a man as Odysseus was":

οὐ γάρ τις μέτα τοῖος ἀνὴρ ἐν τοίσδεσι πᾶσιν
οἷος Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔσκεν. [21.93-94]

Thus he spoke, says the poet, although he hoped in his heart to succeed, while actually he was to be the first to feel a shaft "from the hands of ἀμύμων Odysseus, whom he was even then dishonoring, sitting in his house, and encouraging his comrades (to be disorderly)":

ἐκ χειρῶν Ὀδυσῆος ἀμύμονος, ὃν τότ' ἀτίμα
ἥμενος ἐν μεγάροις, ἐπὶ δ' ὄρνυε πάντας ἑταίρους. [21.99-100]

Finally, after the suitors have tried and failed to string the bow, the beggar asks for a chance, to see if he still has any of his old strength. The suitors are indignant and worried, and Eurymachos explains that they are worried about the gossip of the common people, lest one of them should say, "'Truly, the men who are

wooing the wife of an ἀμύμων man (ἀνδρός)[1] are far inferior, for they cannot string his well-polished bow'":

'ἦ πολὺ χείρονες ἄνδρες ἀμύμονος ἀνδρὸς ἄκοιτιν
μνῶνται, οὐδέ τι τόξον ἐΰξοον ἐντανύουσιν'. [21.325-326]

It goes without saying that the translation "blameless" is pointless in all these passages, since in none of them is there any question of Odysseus being blamed, or subject to gossip. The only, as well as the most obvious, feature that all the passages have in common (except naturally the reference to the wound Odysseus received in the boar hunt) is that they mention the suitors as well as Odysseus. Even in the truncated oath which he swears to Penelope, the suitors may be thought to be present by implication, not only through the similarity of the lines to the other three oaths, but in general from the situation. The question again arises, therefore, as in the case of Telemachos (see above, pp. 127-129), whether ἀμύμων can be meant to signify that Odysseus is the innocent victim of the suitors' outrages. Again, however, there is the difficulty that the suitors' abuses of Odysseus' hospitality are regarded with something far stronger than μῶμος; they are not merely guilty of minor infractions of the social conventions such as give rise to gossip. The words used to describe the suitors' behavior are all strong ones, as we have seen (Chap. VII, pp. 127-128 and p. 127, n. 1), and ἀμύμων would not provide a suitable contrast.

Moreover, the whole tenor of the poem militates against such an interpretation. Periodic attempts are made by well-meaning, but misguided critics to invest the Odyssey with a simpler and more direct moral message than it has,[2] but most readers rightly rebel at any applications of whitewash to the vigorous and complex figure of Odysseus. It is noteworthy in this connection that most translators even abandon their favorite "blameless" for ἀμύμων in the

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[1] This is the last instance in which ἀμύμων used of a person modifies a noun other than a proper name; see Appendix I, List 7 and pp. 133-138. Because of the juxtaposition of ἄκοιτις, ἀνήρ perhaps has an overtone of "husband," but it is obvious that Eurymachos is not calling Odysseus an ἀμύμων husband *per se*; cf. Herakles in the *Megara* (p. 73).

[2] One of the most recent attempts is by George de F. Lord, in "The Odyssey and the Western World." Lord claims, pp. 36-37, that "The Odyssey presents through the experiences of its hero the birth of personal and social ideals which are remarkably close to those of the Christian tradition and repudiates the old code of the heroic warriors at Troy as resolutely as does the *Aeneid*." For a rebuttal of this view see Combellack's review, pp. 118-121.

passages describing Odysseus and settle for "good," "gallant," "brave," "noble," etc.[1] The first, of course, is ambiguous, but I think few readers would interpret it, in the context of the ἀμύμων passages, as "morally good."

That the other adjectives (except "noble") are reasonably close to what ἀμύμων used of Odysseus seems to suggest in Greek will be apparent if the ten passages are re-examined. In all, the guilt of the suitors is taken for granted, and the moral status of Odysseus is not in question. The main and most significant contrast is between the weakness of the suitors for all their numbers, their inadequacy as men, compared to the overmastering heroic strength of the warrior returned from Troy. This is particularly clear, for example, in the last two instances, where ἀμύμων used of Odysseus in passages involving his bow has the same effect as in the passages involving the spear or armor of ἀμύμων Achilleus (see above, pp. 64, 69). With these two also should be compared another, expressing the same general idea, but using ἀντίθεος instead of ἀμύμων. After Eurymachos has failed to string the bow he laments, saying, "But if we fall so far short of the might of godlike Odysseus that we cannot string his bow, it will be a disgrace (for us) even among posterity":

> ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ τοσσόνδε βίης ἐπιδευέες εἰμὲν
> ἀντιθέου Ὀδυσῆος, ὅ τ' οὐ δυνάμεσθα τανύσσαι
> τόξον· ἐλεγχείη δὲ καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι [21.253-255]

The interpretation of ἀμύμων as warriorlike (because strong and handsome) has the further advantage of covering the boar hunt passage as well, which the hypothesis that ἀμύμων meant "innocent, blameless" left unaccounted for. As for the other passages, subjective judgment may vary, but I think "brave" would be preferable to "blameless" throughout. The Philoitios passage is in rather a special category on either interpretation, for the structure of the speech is such that ἀμύμων is not used of Odysseus in relation to the suitors, who occur only as an afterthought. When Philoitios calls Odysseus ἀμύμων, either he used the adjective as a general

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[1] Palmer renders "good" in all the passages escept 2.225 and 19.456 where he uses "gallant" [pp. 43, 242]. Rieu ignores ἀμύμων in 2.225 [p. 43], uses "noble" in 16.100 [p. 247], translates "brave young prince" in 19.456 [p. 300], "peerless" in 21.99 [p. 318], "fine gentleman" in 21.325 [p. 324], and "good" in 20.209 [p. 309], as well as in all the oath passages [pp. 219, 263, 296, 310].

term of approbation, or he means to praise Odysseus as a generous master and wealthy ἄναξ, lord, king. If the latter, then ἀμύμων perhaps reflects the same late development that we considered a possibility in the Mentor passage. Such passages, however, seem to me to be too infrequent and too intrinsically ambiguous to arrive at any certain answer.

The question of Odysseus' beauty, or lack of it, perhaps deserves a word or two, since he is clearly not the same kind of exemplar of male beauty as, for instance, Achilleus. Indeed, in a famous passage in the Iliad, Antenor implies that his looks are unimpressive enough to produce surprise at his reputation—until he begins to speak [III.205-224].[1] Moreover, although the epithet ἀντίθεος is used of him once in the Iliad [XI.140], almost all adjectives applied to him there have to do with his mental or rhetorical endowments. In the Odyssey, however, the situation is quite the opposite, and there is abundant evidence that we are meant to envisage him as a good-looking man. Three times his beauty is conveyed by the motif of Athena shedding extraordinary beauty over him, much as she does over Telemachos (see Chap. VII, p. 130, and n. 1), and also increasing his height and weight; twice she also makes his body more impressive, without adding any beauty.

In the first episode, when Odysseus appears clean, anointed, and clothed before Nausikaa on the sea shore, Athena makes him "taller and thicker to look at"—μείζονά τ' εἰσιδέειν καὶ πάσσονα [6.230]; and as a skilled craftsman gilds silver and makes χαρίεντα ἔργα, so she sheds χάρις on his head and shoulders—ὣς ἄρα τῶι κατέχευε χάριν κεφαλῆι τε καὶ ὤμοις [6.235], so that, to Nausikaa's admiration, he gleams with beauty and charm—κάλλεϊ καὶ χάρισι στίλβων· θηεῖτο δὲ κούρη [6.237]. The Phaiakians admire (θηήσαντο) him too when he appears in the agora and Athena sheds miraculous grace on his head and shoulders and again makes him taller and heavier—τῶι δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνη / θεσπεσίην κατέχευε χάριν κεφαλῆι τε καὶ ὤμοις, / καί μιν μακρότερον καὶ πάσσονα θῆκεν ἰδέσθαι [8.18-20].

[1] Actually in this episode not much is said in direct derogation of Odysseus' body, although Priamos remarks that he is shorter by a head than Agamemnon [III.193], and Antenor says that Menelaos' shoulders are broader [III.210]. Most of the surprise is apparently occasioned by Odysseus' bearing, which struck the Trojans as awkward and unsophisticated. For some interesting remarks on this episode, and on Odysseus' differences from the heroic norm, see Standford, *Ulysses* pp. 14-15, 66-67, 71-72, and 249 n. 18.

Finally, when he appears before Penelope after he has washed off the filth of his disguise and the gore of the battle with the suitors, Athena sheds much beauty on his head—αὐτὰρ καὶ κεφαλῆς χεῦεν πολὺ κάλλος 'Αθήνη [23.156]; the rest of this passage is almost identical with the one in book 6, except that instead of the statement that Nausikaa admires him as he gleams with charm, there is substituted a line used earlier of Telemachos, "he emerged from the bath 'like the immortals in form' " [23.163] (see above, p. 130), and nothing is said about Penelope's reaction. Finally, when Odysseus reveals himself to Telemachos, Athena removes his beggar's disguise by increasing (i.e. restoring) his beauty and youth—δέμας δ' ὤφελλε καὶ ἥβην [16.174]; and when he fights Iros, she swells his limbs (μέλε' ἤλδανε) [18.70], which are already large and strong and beautiful (see below, p. 151).[1]

Athena's additions to Odysseus' physical appearance might be thought, by those unacquainted with Homer's use of the gods, to imply that Odysseus was ordinarily unprepossessing in appearance; but quite the contrary is true. Athena's interventions are used to express dramatically the impact of Odysseus' looks. Moreover, in four of the five passages, Odysseus' real appearance has been obscured, first by the foam and brine of his long immersion in the sea, and then by the beggar's rags which he wears in Ithaka, so that the device of divine interventions serves to convey the especially striking effect when he is revealed as he really is. In the fifth passage, his entrance into the Phaiakian agora, Athena's action suggests the natural sensation created by the arrival of a mysterious stranger about whom the herald's announcement has already excited curiosity.[2]

[1] Both Odysseus' disguise and Penelope's failure to remark on his final transformation have engendered scholarly controversy; see Page, *Odyssey*, pp. 88-91, 98-99 nn. 8-11, and 114-115. Page somewhat exaggerates the importance of the logical inconsistencies that attend the beggar's disguise and, like many critics, he has failed to see that the omission of Penelope's reaction may be deliberate (see Amory, "Reunion", pp. 118 and 135, nn. 54-56). In any case, these difficulties do not vitiate the essential point, for our purposes, that Odysseus in the Odyssey is portrayed as having godlike beauty.

[2] The way in which Homer's gods duplicate natural causes, effects, processes, etc. is too generally recognized to need extensive justification here. But most discussions are from philosophical, psychological, or anthropological points of view, and therefore center on the use of the gods to express human internal processes; see e.g. Lesky's recent article in *SHAW* (1961). Discussion of the poetic effects of divine interventions and of the use

The other characters remark often enough on Odysseus' appearance to supplement our picture of him. When he has washed the brine from his body and emerged from Athena's ministrations, Nausikaa comments that before the stranger seemed ἀεικέλιος, ugly, "but now he looks like the gods"—νῦν δὲ θεοῖσιν ἔοικεν [6.243]. She decides on the spot that he is just the kind of man she would like to marry. Later she imagines that, if Odysseus should accompany her to town, the people would ask, "Who is this tall, handsome stranger following Nausikaa?"—τίς δ' ὅδε Ναυσικάαι ἕπεται καλός τε μέγας τε / ξεῖνος; [6.276-277]. Her family seems to share her taste. Alkinoos, even before he knows who Odysseus is, hints that he would like to have him as a son-in-law [7.311ff.]. Her brother Laodamas praises the massive physique of the stranger [8.134-136]. Her mother Arete with an indirection perhaps befitting a matron, merely asks a question which implies a favorable answer; she asks the Phaiakian nobles how Odysseus seems to them "in looks and size and level-headedness"—εἶδός τε μέγεθός τε ἰδὲ φρένας ἔνδον ἐΐσας [11.337]. Even the Phaiakian herald summons the townspeople to an assembly to hear about the stranger "like the gods in form"—δέμας ἀθανάτοισιν ὁμοῖος [8.14]. True, this is Athena assuming the role of the herald, but again, since Homer's gods regularly act as the men whose shapes they assume would normally act, it is fair testimony (see above, Chap. VII, pp. 131, 134 and p. 132, n. 1, p. 134, n. 1).

In Ithaka also, Odysseus' looks are admired. When Telemachos first sees his father undisguised, he says, echoing Nausikaa, "now you look like the gods"—νῦν δὲ θεοῖσιν ἔοικας [16.199-200]. Even after Athena has withered his fine skin (χρόα καλόν) and bleared his eyes, which were so beautiful before—ὄσσε πάρος περικαλλέ' ἐόντε [13.398-401], his essential strength and beauty, his ἀμύμων-ness as it were, show through. When he throws back his rags to fight with the real beggar Iros, the suitors behold with admiration his strong, beautiful thighs, broad shoulders, chest, and brawny arms [18.67-74]. And later Penelope, though she has not yet seen him undisguised, remarks that "the stranger here is very tall and well-built"—οὗτος δὲ ξεῖνος μάλα μὲν μέγας ἠδ' εὐπηγής [21.334]. Eumaios' lament for Telemachos [see above, pp. 129-130) is

of the gods in depicting various external events has not progressed much beyond the stage at which Calhoun left it in his three useful, but somewhat superficial articles on Homer's Gods.

testimony, if any were needed, that Odysseus was handsome even before he left for Troy.

Even Odysseus himself, when he is disguised as the beggar, says to Penelope that people say that Odysseus resembles the gods—ὄν φασι θεοῖς ἐναλίγκιον εἶναι [19.267]. Then too ἀντίθεος is used of Odysseus nine times in addition to the instances which we have already noticed (see above, pp. 145, 148, and 150).[1] And his attractions may be inferred from the affection of Kirke and the lasting passion of Kalypso.

The only adverse voice in this chorus of praises is that of Polyphemos. When the angry and blinded Kyklops learns the true identity of his visitor, he recalls a prophecy that he would be robbed of his sight by Odysseus, but, he complains, he had always expected that some "tall, handsome man"—φῶτα μέγαν καὶ καλόν—would come, whereas now he has been made drunk and blinded by "a small, feeble, no-account"—ὀλίγος τε καὶ οὐτιδανὸς καὶ ἄκικυς [9.513-516]. Polyphemos, however, is hardly an unprejudiced witness, and in general there is no reason to doubt that Odysseus merits the description ἀμύμων in its original sense, although the connotations of heroism which attend ἀμύμων in the case of Achilleus are also appropriate to Odysseus, and although there may also be, in some few of the Odysseus passages, the more moral and abstract significance which ἀμύμων shows in connection with the ideal king theme.

Nevertheless, there is also in the Odyssey an interesting and unusual counter-motif which denies godlike beauty to both Penelope and Odysseus. It first appears in the scene in which Kalypso expresses her pique that Odysseus has steadfastly refused her offer of immortality and longed always for his wife who must, Kalypso says, be inferior to herself in form (δέμας) and growth (φυήν), since in the nature of things mortal women cannot compete with goddesses in form (δέμας) and beauty (εἶδος):

> ἐνθάδε κ' αὖθι μένων σὺν ἐμοὶ τόδε δῶμα φυλάσσοις
> ἀθάνατός τ' εἴης, ἱμειρόμενός περ ἰδέσθαι

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[1] For the passages in which Odysseus is called ἀντίθεος see Appendix II, List 3, A. 11 and B. 6a-k. The other expressions in which he is compared to the gods are in Appendix II, List 10, B. 7 and 8; D. 4 and 5; and I. 5 and 7. Of these the only one not discussed in the text is B. 7, since it compares Odysseus to the gods in mind, not in body, in a very unusual passage.

σὴν ἄλοχον, τῆς αἰὲν ἐέλδεαι ἤματα πάντα.
οὐ μέν θην κείνης γε χερείων εὔχομαι εἶναι,
οὐ δέμας οὐδὲ φυήν, ἐπεὶ οὔ πως οὐδὲ ἔοικε
θνητὰς ἀθανάτῃσι δέμας καὶ εἶδος ἐρίζειν. [5.208-213]

Odysseus readily admits that Penelope is "inferior to look at in beauty (εἶδος) and in size (μέγαθος), for she is a mortal, while you are immortal and ageless":

εἶδος ἀκιδνοτέρη μέγεθός τ' εἰσάντα ἰδέσθαι·
ἡ μὲν γὰρ βροτός ἐστι, σὺ δ' ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήρως. [5.217-218]

But he goes on to reaffirm his desire to return home, and asserts his determination to endure whatever disaster may be in store for him, just as he has already endured much on the sea and in war [5.219-224].

Later, when Alkinoos wonders if his guest might not be a god in disguise, Odysseus says firmly, "*I* do not look like the immortals who hold wide heaven, neither in form (δέμας) nor growth (φυήν), but like mortal men":

. . . οὐ γὰρ ἐγώ γε
ἀθανάτοισι ἔοικα, τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν,
οὐ δέμας οὐδὲ φυήν, ἀλλὰ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν. [7.208-210]

He adds that whomever Alkinoos has known of men who have especially born grief, Odysseus could equal or surpass them in sorrows [7.211-214].

Finally, when Telemachos, amazed at seeing Odysseus without his disguise, says "surely you are some god"—ἦ μάλα τις θεός ἐσσι [16.183], Odysseus answers, "No, I am not a god—why do you compare me to the immortals?—but I am your father, because of whom you have been grieving and suffering many woes, enduring the violence of men":

οὔ τίς τοι θεός εἰμι — τί μ' ἀθανάτοισι ἐΐσκεις;
ἀλλὰ πατὴρ τεός εἰμι, τοῦ εἵνεκα σὺ στεναχίζων
πάσχεις ἄλγεα πολλά, βίας ὑποδέγμενος ἀνδρῶν. [16.187-189]

And when Telemachos persists, pointing to Odysseus' transformation from a meanly-clad beggar to one who looks like the gods (see above, p. 151), Odysseus says again that he is Odysseus, who has come home (at last) after twenty years, having suffered evils, having wandered much:

ἀλλ' ὅδ' ἐγὼ τοιόσδε, παθὼν κακά, πολλὰ δ' ἀληθείς,
ἤλυθον εἰκοστῶι ἔτεϊ ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν. [16.205-206]

Now these passages are, in strict logic, inconsistent with the traditional epic language in which men and women are said to be "god-like," but it is obvious that they do not cast any serious doubt on the meaning of epithets like ἀντίθεος, nor of the various phrases in which mortals are compared to the gods. The traditional epic vocabulary distinguishes heroic men and women, that is the subjects of epic verse, from ordinary mortals by constantly comparing them to gods in beauty and strength. These passages in which Odysseus denies his own, and Penelope's resemblance to the gods are used for a special purpose, to throw into high relief, and to make poignant, what Penelope, and more especially Odysseus, suffer in the course of the poem, in contrast to the relatively carefree existence of the gods of Olympos. The same function is performed in the Iliad, in a different way, by the presence of Thetis, and by the stress on the early death of Achilleus.

In the last two chapters we have examined fourteen passages, in which Odysseus, Telemachos, and Penelope are called ἀμύμων. In the single instance in which the epithet is used of Telemachos, "blameless" is vaguely suitable because of a contrast between him and the guilty suitors, but on examination "handsome" is preferable because it suits better both the immediate context and the connotations of the relevant words in Homer. Of the three Penelope passages, in the first, "blameless" is possible, but in the second, which is analogous, it is not, so "beautiful" is preferable for both, although the first may have a developed meaning "good" (*qua* wife). In the third (Agamemnon's speech), the context is moral, but the construction of the speech is such that "beautiful" is the most satisfactory meaning for ἀμύμων.

In Chapter VII we also surveyed twenty-one passages, discussed earlier, in which ἀμύμων is used with nouns denoting people in various relationships. On balance, taking into account both quantitative and qualitative considerations, we concluded that in most such instances, ἀμύμων has its normal meaning of "beautiful," although in a few cases some development towards "good," parallel to that which ἀμύμων shows with nouns denoting an activity or profession is quite possible.

Of the ten passages in which Odysseus is called ἀμύμων, two

speeches have, Mentor's definitely, and Philoitios' perhaps, a moral context similar to that which surrounded the simile of the ideal king. In one passage (the boar hunt) "handsome" is definitely preferable. In the others (the four oaths, Odysseus' speech to Telemachos, and the two passages involving the bow) the most satisfactory meaning for ἀμύμων is the same as in the Iliad, namely "possessing the strong handsome body of a warrior," and the consequent overtones of "brave" are as appropriate to Odysseus in the Odyssey as they are to Achilleus in the Iliad.

CONCLUSION

The basic meaning of ἀμύμων, the facts that it refers primarily to bodily beauty and strength, that it does not mean "noble" in either the literal or metaphorical sense, that it occasionally means "good" in a non-physical context, but that it normally has no ethical significance, all these were stated briefly long ago by at least one scholar, Martin Hoffman, in 1914.[1] Hoffmann, however, offered little proof for his views and so made no headway against the effects of the traditional etymology of ἀμύμων and of the notion that epithets in Homer are often carelessly used, the combined power of which has succeeded in perpetuating the misinterpretation of ἀμύμων as "blameless" in the face of passage after passage in which this meaning is totally irrelevant, inappropriate, pointless, or in strange contrast to surrounding epithets.[2]

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[1] *Die ethische Terminologie bei Homer*, pp. 65-66. This dissertation was not available to me until I had finished writing all of the detailed discussion of ἀμύμων, so his views may be taken as independent confirmation of my conclusion. Hoffmann assumes the derivation from μῶμος, but unlike Mette and Frisk (see Chap. IV, p. 73, n. 1 and p. 91, n. 1), he has properly assessed the evidence in Homer. He therefore accepts the meaning "blemish" for μῶμος and assigns to ἀμύμων the meaning "ohne Flecken, ohne Makel." He interprets the meaning of ἀμύμων in most of the crucial passages more or less as I do, denying them an ethical sense. Of the normal usage of ἀμύμων he says: "Von Personen gebraucht bezieht sich ἀμύμων meist auf die aüssere Erscheinung, ihre Schönheit oder ihre Kraft." He objects to Finsler's comment that ἀμύμων often refers to nobility of birth by pointing out that, although the heroes are noble, "wir nicht einzelne bestimmte Stellen bezeichnen können, an denen ἀμύμων notwendig mit 'adlig' übersetzt werden müsste." Of ἀμύμων used with nouns denoting an activity or profession, he says, "Hier ist ἀμύμων ganz allgemeine Qualitätsbestimmung, die ihren konkreten Inhalt erst von dem dabeibestehenden Nomen erhält." He sees an ethical meaning only in the two passages from book 19, in the first of which, he says, it comes from the relative clause following βασιλῆος ἀμύμονος, and in the second from the contrast with ἀπηνής (cf. above, pp. 109-114). In Agamemnon's praise of Penelope he interprets (mistakenly, in my opinion) ἀγαθαὶ φρένες as referring to intelligence rather than moral sense, but takes ἀμύμων, as I do, to refer to Penelope's beauty (cf. above, pp. 138-143). He does not discuss the use of ἀμύμων with nouns not denoting persons, except with θυμός, for which see p. 158, n. 1 below.

[2] Most readers of Homer, I think, have always felt vaguely uncomfortable with "blameless" even in the passages where it is not blatantly inappropriate, which makes Parry's acceptance of it (see Chap. VI, p. 123, n. 4) even more mysterious. For references to the passages in which it is most obviously unsuitable, see Chap. VI, p. 124, n. 1.

My aims in examining in detail all the passages in Homer containing ἀμύμων have been several. The primary aim was simply to establish its range of meaning as securely as the evidence available would permit. That the original denotation was "beautiful in body" seems incontrovertible for several reasons: beauty is the only attribute with which ἀμύμων is associated with significant frequency; many passages make an explicit reference to beauty; some use ἀμύμων Achilleus (and three others) as a standard for beauty (see above, pp. 66-67); ἀμύμων tends to be used of family clusters, indicating that it denotes an inheritable characteristic; finally, the meaning "handsome" accounts more satisfactorily than any other for ἀμύμων's course of development. Whenever ἀμύμων occurs in a repeated phrase, in a traditional looking expression, or in a conventional catalogue, the meaning "handsome" is not only possible, but usually the most appropriate.

It can also be demonstrated with certainty that ἀμύμων early acquired the connotation "good" in a non-physical sense, and that in a few traditional phrases, namely those referring to a μάντις or ἰητήρ, this connotation supplanted the original denotation "beautiful" (see above, pp. 94-96). The passages in which charioteers or boxers are called ἀμύμονες are less traditional sounding, but the meaning of ἀμύμων is just as clearly "good" in a general way. It seems possible to say further that ἀμύμων, since it referred to the beauty of warriors especially, eventually took on overtones of "warrior-like" in a non physical way, i.e. "brave, heroic," and so on. These overtones are appropriate in a substantial number of passages and they are necessary to make sense of the recurrent phrase κατὰ θυμὸν ἀμύμονα (see above, pp. 100-102). This phrase, however, may be regarded as an inappropriate combination of formulae, so the development of ἀμύμων towards "brave" cannot be established as certainly as that towards "good."

In its original meaning ἀμύμων ordinarily modifies a personal name, but there are twenty-two instances in which it modifies nouns denoting people in personal relations like wife, son, comrade, etc. (see above, pp. 133-139). In these there is a question of how far one should go in assuming that the connotation "good" has replaced the original denotation "beautiful." The question does not seem answerable definitely on the evidence that we have, since the meaning "good" is not necessary in any of these passages, as it is in the passages where ἀμύμων modifies a noun denoting a profession

or activity, like seer. "Good" is not appropriate in even as many passages, proportionately, as the meaning "brave" is in the passages where ἀμύμων is used of warriors.

It is evident that ἀμύμων also developed in a different direction, so that it could be used of things as well as of people. The great majority of these instances refer to physical objects or to dancing, i.e. physical movement by people, and the required meaning for ἀμύμων is easily derived from its original reference to the beautiful bodies of young men and women. In a few instances, another line of development, from a phrase like μάντις ἀμύμων, makes the usage intelligible. In the case of κατὰ θυμὸν ἀμύμονα, the most plausible explanation seems to me to be a development from the connotation "brave," but this may not be universally convincing.[1]

So far these various developments in meaning are not only clearly detectable in the text and easy to comprehend, they are also paralleled by the development of other words meaning "beautiful," both in Greek and in other languages. The only really remarkable, though still not incomprehensible, developments are to be seen in three passages from the Odyssey, one where ἀμύμων is used with αἶνος and two in book 19. What we have in these passages is not ἀμύμων misused, but ἀμύμων used with a widening of connotation, which is normal in all languages, and which is, moreover, not haphazard, but traceable in the whole spectrum of ἀμύμων's usage. It is notable that all three of these passages, in which ἀμύμων shows the furthest extension of meaning, are not ordinary narrative where traditional epic diction may be used without difficulty, but are connected with characters and themes which may plausibly be assigned to the final composer of the Odyssey and which required adaptation of the traditional language (for Eumaios see above, pp. 106-109 and for the themes of hospitality and ideal kingship, pp. 109-114). It is, of course, only an assumption that such extensions of meaning of words ordinarily found with restricted meanings in formulaic phrases, are "late," but it is a probable one. If enough detailed data of this kind were available, it might be possible to take work like Hoekstra's a step farther.[2]

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[1] Hoffmann, for instance, throws up his hands in despair over κατὰ θυμὸν ἀμύμονα: "Ob sich der Dichter bei dieser Wendung überhaupt etwas Bestimmtes gedacht hat und was, möchte ich nicht entscheiden." This may be because he did not, apparently, perceive the overtones of bravery in ἀμύμων, but leaped directly from the meaning "beautiful" to that of "good."

[2] Hoekstra, like most scholars who are interested in tracing the chrono-

For the traditional etymology from μῶμος there is absolutely no convincing evidence in support, and considerable evidence against. The sharply contrasting usage of ἀναίτιος shows that ἀμύμων did not mean "undeserving of a (specific) reproach" (see Chap. II, p. 49, n. 1). The meaning "blameless (in some general way)" fares no better, for the connotation "morally admirable" is unmistakeable only in the two unusual passages in book 19 which we just mentioned. Two peculiar instances out of 116 surely represent meager evidence, especially since the passages are quite adequately explained on the hypothesis that ἀμύμων originally meant "beautiful" and then "good." There is no indication whatsoever that ἀμύμων was connected with μῶμος in the meaning which μῶμος appears to have in Homer.

The traditional etymology can be retained by assuming the meaning "physical blemish" for μῶμος, but this assumption offers no advantage, not even a slight one, over the hypothesis that ἀμύμων meant "beautiful" in a positive sense, for there are no passages in which the meaning "flawless" provides ἀμύμων with more point or significance than "beautiful." Nor is there a single passage, either in Homer or in other authors, in which a dative or accusative of respect occurs with ἀμύμων. If there were even one, it would give considerable support to the meaning "flawless," but instead we find these constructions only with ἄμωμος and ἀμώμητος (in other authors), adjectives which were, it is manifest both from morphology and usage, in fact derived from μῶμος, blemish (see above, Chap. IV).

Another consideration, though not a decisive one, is that, out of the many traditional epithets praising warriors, ἀμύμων would be, if it were derived from μῶμος, the only one that did so from a negative approach. That is, we do not in Homer commonly find compounds like "fearless" used of warriors. Words formed with *alpha* privative exist in Homer, of course, but they are neither as

logical development of epic diction, relies mostly on linguistic and archaeological material to determine dates. Leumann uses the meaning of rare words, but the semasiology of common words has scarcely been tapped for this field, presumably because it seems too subjective. Since, however, we have two long poems, the evidence for the meaning of common words in Homer has one advantage over the kinds of material used by Hoekstra, Leumann, et al., that of being abundant.

frequent as words like ἀμύμων, ἀντίθεος, δαΐφρων, etc., nor are they used in the same kinds of passages.[1]

Most attempts to establish the meaning of words in Homer are undertaken chiefly in order to draw conclusions about the psychology, religious beliefs, social customs, judicial practices and so on in "Homer" (whether of the poet, of his audience, or of his heroes). For such purposes it is sufficient to cite only the passages which illustrate most clearly the meanings which are significant for the ulterior aims of the investigation. But since my aim is to try to understand the poems as poems, and not as documents for something else, I have cited all the passages in which ἀμύμων occurs. In doing this a continuously reciprocal process of understanding the word and the poems is set in motion. Once the normal range of meaning possessed by a word is established beyond reasonable doubt in passages where the word's meaning is exceptionally clear and explicit, then that range of meaning can be used in other passages as a basis for interpretation. And in turn, in each passage which offers a new context for a given word, there is a new set of controls on the meaning of the word, in the phrasing, content, and setting of the passage. I have attempted, therefore, to present a

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[1] For example, the adjective ἄφοβος, without fear, does not occur in Homer at all. The adjective ἀτειρής, unwearying, does occur ten times in the Iliad, but usually as an epithet of χαλκός, bronze, or of φωνή, voice; it is twice used in reference to unwearying bravery, but only in the predicate (once of soldiers [XV.697] and once with κραδίη [III.60]), not as an epithet with a proper name. Similarly ἄτρομος, untrembling, occurs only three times in the Iliad, always in the predicate, twice with μένος [V.126, XVII.157], and once with θυμός [XVI.163]. Ἀτάρβητος, fearless, occurs once, in the predicate, with νόος [III.63]; for ἀταρβής, also a hapax, see Appendix V, List 1, B. 1.

The nearest analogy I can think of would be the adjective ἄαπτοι, which occurs eleven times in the Iliad, always with χεῖρες, hands, and which is usually translated "invincible." I am not at all sure, however, that the *alpha* is really privative here; it seems much more likely that it is intensive, and that the epithet means "powerful in grasping" (a spear, for example), or even "powerful in smiting" (for ἅπτω meaning strike, see, e.g. VIII.67 and XVI. 631). This derivation and meaning are much more appropriate to the contexts in which the phrase χεῖρες ἄαπτοι occurs (see e.g. I.567 and XIII.77) than the recent ones offered by Bechtel, p. 1 and Frisk, p. 2. Both of these adopt ἄεπτοι for ἄαπτοι, on the authority of Aristophanes Byzantius, derive from the combination of *alpha* privative with εἰπεῖν, to speak, or ἕπεσθαι, to follow, and arrive at meaning "unspeakable" or "unapproachable." But the ancient testimony (of the scholia on I.567 and of Eustathius) for the views of Aristophanes is confused, and since ἄεπτοι produces a less satisfactory meaning for the text than ἄαπτοι, there seems no advantage in accepting either it or the etymologies based on it.

clear and coherent interpretation of all the passages containing ἀμύμων, so that in the process of establishing the epithet's meaning, our understanding of many passages which have a significant bearing on the main themes or chief characters of the Iliad and Odyssey is simultaneously clarified.

In addition to the primary purposes of understanding both the meaning of ἀμύμων and the significance of all the passages in which it occurs, I have tried to offer a collection of material on the basis of which one might begin to ascertain on a level beyond intuition and subjective impression, the uses of language that are particularly characteristic of Homeric poetry, and which are in part responsible for its exceptional poetic power and enduring appeal. Parry argued, as we have seen (Intro., pp. 2-4), that a recurrent epithet does not, and cannot, have the same kind of meaning for and effect on the audience as a uniquely descriptive adjective. But his further conclusion, that epithets in oral poetry must on occasion be used in unsuitable contexts because the poet usually had only one noun-epithet combination that fit the meter available, is more dubious (see above, p. 123). It is true, as Parry said, that the student soon realizes that δῖος, for example, is a generic ornamental epithet, and not an adjective either peculiar to Achilleus or particularly chosen for this context, as he may initially have thought upon reading the proem to the Iliad for the first time.[1] But I very much doubt if anyone, in any age, poet or hearer, ever becomes as insensible to the meaning of the epithets as Parry claims. For instance, Parry implied that in the common formula for the coming of dawn—ἦμος δ' ἠριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος 'Ηώς [2.1, etc.], "the Greek expression had no imagistic power, no wealth of connotation, to distinguish it from the English paraphrase other than the undefined quality of 'nobility.'"[2] Calhoun, I believe, expressed the

[1] *L'Épithète*, p. 183. Δῖος is in fact one of the harder Homeric epithets to define precisely, but that it does not mean "illustrious, divine, noble" (Autenrieth) is shown by its frequent occurrence with ἅλα, sea (seven times in the Iliad, six in the Odyssey). Nor, obviously, can it mean "god*like*" like ἀντίθεος, since it is applied to the gods themselves. In view of its frequent use with 'Ηώς, dawn, as well as with sea (four times in the Iliad, eight in the Odyssey), "splendid" in its literal sense seems the best rendering. The unwarranted assumption that it means "divine" in some vague but moral sense led Parry to cite its use with Anteia and Klytaimnestra as inappropriate (*L'Épithète*, p. 151).

[2] Adam Parry, Introduction to *The Making of Homeric Verse*, the forth-

effect of Homeric repetitions more truly than Parry when he compared them to familiar music and landscapes:

> It is true we can never have more than once the full effect of a first hearing of these passages, when reason, as well as our emotions, was taken by surprise, but the effect upon the emotions persists. We can never recapture completely what we feel when for the first time we round the shoulder of a mountain and come suddenly upon an unexpected vista, but we can never round that shoulder without being moved.[1]

Calhoun was writing specifically about the longer passages that are repeated in Homer, but what he says holds true for individual epithets also.

Parry, measuring Homer against the standards that we ordinarily apply to written literature, in which adjectives are most often used to describe persons or things at some specific moment, or as they strike an individual observer, or as in some way unique or remarkable, judged the traditional epithets of oral poetry to be merely ornamental and used only as metrical convenience or necessity dictated. If many honorific English adjectives, with their wide range of meaning, were used in recurrent formulae, they might well slip into the meaninglessness which Parry ascribes to the Homeric epithet. Similarly, we observe in Quintus of Smyrna that, though his style is identifiably Homeric in some respects, and though he preserves some of the meanings of Homeric epithets, his language is flat and flabby where Homer's is vivid and sinewy, and one of the reasons is that he has lost Homer's sense of the precise and circumscribed significance of words in the traditional epic vocabulary (see above, pp. 82-83). Parry never investigated the meanings of Homeric words as such, and seems never to have realized that they tend to have much more limited connotations than in later Greek, but that this is true was seen long ago by that remarkable and acute amateur of Homer, Robert Wood, who commented on

> a circumstance not less extraordinary in itself than fortunate to letters, viz. that Homer, though the oldest, is the clearest and most intelligible of all ancient writers. The Greek vocabulary, though copious in his time, was not yet equivocal; ambiguity of expression

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coming edition (Clarendon Press) of The Collected Papers of the Late Milman Parry. The reference to Parry himself is *L'Épithète*, p. 16.

[1] Calhoun, "Repetitions", p. 21.

> was little known before the birth of Science [i.e. philosophy]. Could Homer take a view of the various fortunes and changes which his language has undergone in the service of Literature, he would be surprised to see so many volumes of controversy about the signification of words which conveyed to him the most distinct images of things; and to find, that terms which in his time were universally acknowledged as the signs of certain external objects of sense, should have acquired an additional meaning.[1]

Specificity of connotation in Homer's words is easily verifiable in the case of many verbs and nouns by anyone who sits down with a text of Homer and concordances.[2] In the case of adjectives it is more difficult to demonstrate, but not impossible. *A priori* it would be strange in a language that carefully discriminates meanings for verbs and nouns to have adjectives with imprecise or general connotations. Actually, specific meanings are easily ascertained for adjectives that are used in the predicate (see e.g. on αἴτιος, Chap. II, p. 49, n. 1). In the case of attributive adjectives whose components are transparent, it is obvious that their meanings also are not vague or general, but much more highly specific than is customary in our laudatory adjectives: women are not merely "beautiful," but λευκώλενος, white-armed; dawn is not "splendid" or "colored," but ῥοδοδάκτυλος, rosy-fingered (or rosy-toed?). No one dreams of rendering these adjectives by "noble" or "goodly" because their derivation makes their meaning clear, but they are every bit as generic, conventional, formulaic, and divorced from the immediate context as other epithets in Homer.[3]

These other epithets are, for the most part, those which describe the qualities and attributes that are most conspicuous and most prized in warriors. Ἀμύμων and the other epithets in Appendix II fall into this category, although this collection is far from exhaustive.[4] There are many other adjectives similar in meaning to the ones which we have examined: ἀγαθός, δῖος, and ἐσθλός, for

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[1] *An Essay on the Original Genius of Homer*, pp. 242-243.

[2] See e.g. on παίζω Chap. V, p. 104, n. 1 and on ἀλίταινω, Chap. VII, p. 128, n. 1. For other examples see Snell, *Discovery*, Chap. I (cf. Intro p. 1, n. 2 and Chap. II, p. 39, n. 1); and Amory, "Gates," pp. 15-32.

[3] It is true, of course, that these epithets are so specific that they do not have the same possibility of developing extended meanings as ἀμύμων and ἐΰς. But epithets like μεγάθυμος and ἀντίθεος, whose components are as clear as those of ῥοδοδάκτυλος, also remain limited in their connotations. The essential point, that almost all Homeric epithets are more limited and specific than their English counterparts, holds good.

[4] For further examples see Parry, *L'Épithète*, pp. 104-125 and 131-145.

example, to name some of the most general, and μεγαλήτωρ and φαίδιμος among the more restricted in meaning; these are used in much the same ways and in the same kinds of passages as ἀμύμων, ἀντίθεος, etc. All these epithets glorify warriors and can therefore be used interchangeably as the metre demands or as a desire for variety suggests,[1] but that is not to say either that they are exactly synonymous or that they are so vague in meaning as to have no relation at all to the context.

A careful study of these epithets shows that they have identifiable and normally quite specific meanings and, further, that they are relevant to their contexts, though with a different kind of relevance from the one that we are used to, and thus unconsciously expect in Homer too. Laudatory adjectives in modern languages have been so used and abused in all kinds of contexts that they often signify nothing but approbation,[2] but in Homer the laudatory epithets are as restricted in connotations as his other words. Thus ἀμύμων and θεοειδής do not both vaguely mean "beautiful," but ἀμύμων means beautiful because possessing a strong, well-shaped, well-coordinated body; and θεοειδής means like a god to look at, because possessed of a shape, whether facial or bodily, that is pleasing to look at, without any necessary dependence on strength or health. Similarly, μεγάθυμος means brave because having a great θυμός, that is, resolution, energy, and desire to fight; ἄλκιμος means brave because ready and

[1] See *L'Épithète*, pp. 19ff. for Parry's famous demonstration of the economy of the noun-epithet system in Homer; he shows clearly the way in which the syntax controls the choice of epithet because for each major hero there is ordinarily only one noun-epithet combination of a given metrical value in a given case. Variety, on the other hand, can be secured in a number of ways. For example, in the episode where Odysseus prevents the Greeks from going home prematurely [II.169-335] the syntax is varied so that five different epithets are used, and not one is repeated. In short catalogues, where all the names are usually in the same case, epithets are seldom repeated within a given catalogue because names of different metrical value are used, so that epithets inevitably vary too; see for example XII.88ff. (Chap. II, p. 47). Cf. also the apparently gratuitous variation in the oath about Odysseus' return (see Chap. VIII, p. 144 and n. 1). Sometimes a whole line will be varied slightly, apparently just for aesthetic reasons; for example in the Teichoskopia, Priamos asks about three Greek heroes: two of the lines which introduce his questions are identical except for the proper name [III.191-228], but each of the three lines which introduce Helen's replies are different [III.171, 199, and 228], so that she is called first δῖα γυναικῶν, (most) splendid of women, then Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα, sprung from Zeus, and then τανύπεπλος, long-robed.

[2] See Lewis, pp. 6-8.

able to defend either oneself or a comrade; δαΐφρων means brave because having a mind concentrated on δάϊς, battle.

As far as we can tell, these epithets are used with remarkable fidelity to their connotations. By this I mean not that the connotations are particularly suitable to any given context, but that the epithets are usually relevant to the characters and to the roles the characters play, and that their specific connotations are almost never violated or contradicted. This is most obviously true of the specialized epithets; thus various expressions meaning "swift-footed" are suitable to Achilleus, and restricted to him, not because he is running when they are used, but because he was the swiftest of the Achaians and because one of the most famous episodes in his career was the pursuit of Hektor in front of Troy. Similarly, ἄλκιμος, which is not restricted to Patroklos, is yet especially suitable to him, even when he is not defending anything, because the connotations of the epithet are appropriate to his chief action in the poem, the rescue of the ships (see Chap. II, p. 45, n. 1).[1]

It is paradoxical that Parry never observed the tendency of words in Homer to be restricted in meaning, because his work provides an explanation of one of the chief causes of such restriction. Homer's language was not unambiguous purely because it was early, as the quotation above from Wood suggests. The fact that it was an oral diction, filled with repetitions and formulae had a great deal to do with restricting the connotations of words. A word grows in meaning by being used in a number of different contexts and in combination with different words. In Homer the operation of the formulaic system works to limit the number of words that are used in combination with any given word. Thus, for example, ἀληθής occurs eight times, seven of them with a verb of speaking, and keeps the strict meaning "honest, candid"; ἔτυμος / ἐτήτυμος are used chiefly with the verb "to be" and keep the strict meaning "objectively true"; whereas in later Greek ἀληθής is used in a wide variety of contexts and constructions and takes on the meaning of both.[2]

To Homer's audience which was accustomed to this kind of

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[1] For remarks on Achilleus see Whallon, "Epithets," pp. 107-109. He cites a number of other instances where the epithet is appropriate to "the epic matter." (Some of his comments are marred by an inadequate understanding of the meaning of the epithets).

[2] See Amory, "Gates," pp. 24-26.

language, the exact meanings of words, even of the laudatory epithets, must have been more apparent that it is to us, who are not only used to a very different kind of language, but who usually approach Homer *via* the usage of later Greek, where Homer's fine distinctions have become blurred. To Homer and his audience a sense of precision and relevance, a pleasure in the right use of language, came not as it does for us from the special relevance of an adjective to a given situation or action, but from the distinctive connotations of each adjective. Therefore, to his audience it did not seem that he was calling his characters "brave, brave, brave" or "beautiful, beautiful, beautiful" every time he used epithets that seem to us roughly synonymous. Instead, if he called a character both δαΐφρων and μεγάθυμος, he was conveying different aspects of his bravery. If someone was both ἀμύμων and θεοειδής, like Telemachos (see above, pp. 127, 130), it helped make clear that he was beautiful in different ways, as opposed to, say, Priamos, of whom θεοειδής is used, but not ἀμύμων (see Chap. I, p. 20, n. 1).

As for the use of adjectives in inappropriate contexts, I do not deny that this occasionally happens, but I think it is far less frequent than is popularly supposed. When an adjective seems inappropriately used, it is most often because we have misunderstood its real meaning, as in the case of ἀμύμων Aigisthos (see above, p. 123).[1] If we are attentive to the special and limited connotations of Homer's adjective, they reveal the rightness of their use, their relevance, not to a specific situation, but to the whole world of heroic action, in which the qualities that were most important in that world were more minutely discriminated than in ours.[2] In much the same way, the Eskimos are said to have sixteen

[1] Various favorite instances, such as "swift" for ships at anchor, "starry" for the heavens in the day time, and "barking" for silent dogs, "tuneful" for a lyre that is not being played, and so on, all seem to me obvious examples of the preference in epic language for epithets that are generic rather than descriptive of a particular action. See Combellack, "Artistry," pp. 202-203 for a discussion of γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσι, which is often thought to be inappropriate when used of the aged Priamos, because LSJ and the scholiasts have misled us into thinking that γναμπτοῖσι means "pliant, lissome." Combellack's solution, that it "merely indicated that limbs are so constructed that they bend" is surely right. Cf. on ἀντίθεος, Chap. I, p. 18, n. 1, and on σιγαλόεις, Chap. V, p. 97, n. 3.

[2] Parry saw clearly the first part of this statement: "l'épithète fixe ornait moins un seul vers, même moins un seul poème, que toute la poésie héroïque" (*L'Épithète*, p. 172); but he did not observe the second.

different words for snow. For us, snow, sleet, hail are usually sufficient, and if we want to make further distinctions, we use adjectives and say "driving" or "softly-drifting" snow, and so on. For the Eskimos, presumably, the different words adequately distinguish the different kinds of snow.

Similarly, in the traditional epic, the adjectives themselves lend the narrative the discrimination, the precision, and the vividness that modern poets must achieve in different ways, as by using them either in unusual combinations or in unusual contexts. If Homer wanted to describe a particular situation, he had plenty of resources with which to do it: unusual adjectives, adjectives in the predicate, participles, relative clauses, and similes, long and short, all of which function in ways more familiar to us than the way in which his epithets function. His recurrent ornamental epithets have the advantage of being eternally relevant to the heroic character and tradition because they all refer to qualities that were considered most important in the tradition.[1] But they do not have the flatness, the lack of force, and the irrelevance that our words "brave" and "handsome" and "strong" would have if we used them as he uses his, because their more distinctive connotations endow them, at every occurrence, however casual, however traditional, however subject to the metrical exigencies of oral composition, with a flash of individual light.

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[1] Parry says that most generic epithets refer to five qualities: "la vaillance d'âme, la force guerrière, la renommée, la royauté, et, chose héroïque mais vague, la 'divinité' " (*L'Épithète*, p. 174). The first two are certainly right, but references to size, strength, and beauty are far more frequent than those to fame and royalty (see above, pp. 43-45). As for the last, comparisons between mortals and gods are seldom or never to a vague "divinity," but almost always to physical appearance (see Chap. I, p. 15, n. 2, p. 17, n. 1, p. 18, n. 1 and above, p. 161, n. 1).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

List 1: Characters in the Iliad, except Achilleus, called ἀμύμων
List 2: Passages in the Iliad in which Achilleus is called ἀμύμων
List 3: 'Αμύμων with nouns denoting an activity or profession
List 4: 'Αμύμων in Homer with nouns not denoting persons; 3 anomalous instances
List 5: Characters in the Odyssey, except Odysseus and family, called ἀμύμων
List 6: Passages in the Odyssey in which Odysseus and family are called ἀμύμων
List 7: 'Αμύμων in Homer with nouns denoting people in personal relationships

List 1, pp. 11-55, 94-96

Characters in the Iliad, except Achilleus, called ἀμύμων

1.	Agenor	XXI.546	pp. 20-22	
2.	Aithiopians	I.423	p. 13	
3.	Alkimedon	XVI.197	p. 11-12	
4.	Anchises	V.247	p. 17	
5.	Andromache	VI.374	pp. 13-14	
6.	Antilochos	XXIII.522	pp. 50-51	
7.	Asklepios	IV.194, XI.518	p. 95	(2)
8.	Bellerophontes	VI.155, 190, 216	pp. 22-28	(3)
9.	Boukolion	VI.22	p. 20	
10.	Dares	V.9	pp. 13, 16	
11.	Deïopites	XI.420	p. 11	
12.	Deukalion	XIII.451	p. 11	
13.	Glaukos	II.876, XIV.426	p. 22	(2)
14.	Gorgythion	VIII.302	p. 20-21	
15.	Kalchas	I.92	pp. 94-96	
16.	Laodokos	XVII.698	p. 11	
17.	Laomedon	XX.236	p. 20-21	
18.	Menelaos	XIII.641	pp. 39-40	
19.	Neleus	XI.692	p. 11	
20.	Pandaros	IV.89, V.169	pp. 51-54	(2)
21.	Patroklos	XVII.10, 379, XXIII.137	pp. 40-46	(3)
22.	Pedasos (horse)	XVI.152	pp. 54-55	
23.	Peleus	XX.206	pp. 17-19	

* 24.	Poulydamas	XI.57, XII.88, XIII.790 XIV.469	pp. 46-50	(4)
25.	Rhigmos	XX.484	p. 11	
26.	Teukros	VIII.273, 292	pp. 13-14	(2)
27.	naiad, mother of Satnios	XIV.444	p. 11	
28.	sons of Nestor	X.170	p. 12	
29.	sons of Portheus	XIV.115	p. 11	
30.	sons of Tros	XX.231	p. 18-19	
31.	dead charioteers	XI.161	p. 96	
32.	a physician	XI.835	pp. 95-96	

* Cf. XII.109, where Poulydamas is called ἀμώμητος, pp. 50, 89

31 persons (or groups of persons), plus one horse
Total instances: 43

List 2, pp. 62-70

Passages in the Iliad in which Achilleus is called ἀμύμων

* 1.	II.674	Nireus; comparison	p. 66
** 2.	II.770	horses; catalogue of ships	p. 62
3.	IX.181	Nestor	p. 63
4.	IX.698	Diomedes	p. 63
** 5.	X.323	horses; Dolon	p. 62
6.	XVI.140	Patroklos arming	p. 63
7.	XVI.854	Patroklos dying	p. 64
8.	XVII.186	Hektor; armor	p. 65
* 9.	XVII.280	Aias; comparison	p. 67
10.	XVIII.55	Thetis' lament	p. 65
11.	XXII.113	Hektor before meeting Achilleus	p. 64
12.	XXII.278	Hektor after spear cast	p. 64
13.	XXIV.85	Thetis and Iris	p. 65

* II.674 = XVII.280
** II.770 ≈ X.323 (the first words differ: ἵπποι, δώσεμεν; and the forms of the verb: φορέεσκον, φορέουσι)

Total instances: 13

List 3, pp. 10, 94-96, 117, 119-120

Use of ἀμυμών *with nouns denoting an activity or profession*

A. μάντις = seer

1.	Kalchas	I.92	pp. 94-95

2. Teiresias	11.99	p. 117
3. Melampos	11.292	p. 117
B. ἰητήρ = physician		
1. Asklepios	a. IV.194	p. 94
	b. XI.518	p. 94
2. indefinite	XI.835	pp. 94-95
C. Assorted		
1. ἡνίοχοι = charioteers	XI.161	p. 95
2. πύγμαχοι = boxers	8.246	pp. 117, 119-120
* 3. βασιλεύς = king (indefinite)	19.109	pp. 109-115

* See Appendix I, List 4, 12

In the Iliad:	3 different nouns (1 indefinite, 1 of a group, 2 of persons)
	5 instances
In the Odyssey:	3 different nouns (1 indefinite, 1 of a group, 1 same as in Iliad, 2 of persons)
	5 instances
Totals:	5 different nouns
	4 instances of persons, only 2 of whom are characters in the poems (Kalchas and Teiresias)
	2 indefinite
	2 of groups of persons
Total instances:	Iliad: 5
	Odyssey: 5
	10

List 4, pp. 96-116

'Αμύμων *in Homer with nouns not denoting persons*; 3 *anomalous instances in the Odyssey*

1. ἔργα	a. IX.128	pp. 96-99
	∔ b. IX.270	pp. 96-99
	c. XIX.245	pp. 96-99
	d. XXIII.263	pp. 96-99
	e. 24.278	pp. 102-103

	2. πομπῆι	VI.171	p. 99
	3. μῆτιν	a. X.19	pp. 99-100
		b. 9.414	p. 103
	4. ὀρχηθμοῖο	a. XIII.637	p. 99
		b. 23.145	pp. 103-104
	5. τόξωι	XV.463	p. 99
	6. θυμόν	a. XVI.119	pp. 100-102
		b. 10.50	pp. 100-102
		c. 16.237	pp. 100-102
*	7. οἶκος	1.232	pp. 104-105
	8. νῆσον	12.261	p. 105
	9. ἕρκεος (or αὐλῆς)	a. 22.442	pp. 105-106
		‡ b. 22.459	pp. 105-106
	10. τύμβον	24.80	p. 106
*	11. αἶνος	14.508	pp. 106-109
	12. βασιλῆος	19.109	pp. 106-109
*	13. αὐτός	19.332	pp. 106-109
	14. ἀμύμονα neut. plur. as substantive	19.332	pp. 106-109

‡ IX.270 ≈ IX.128 (δώσω, δώσει); 22.459 = 22.442
* ἀμύμων in the predicate

In the Iliad:	6	different nouns not denoting persons
	9	instances
In the Odyssey:	9	different nouns not denoting persons (4 same as in Iliad)
	11	instances
	1	noun denoting person, but not a character
	1	instance
	1	intensive pronoun
	1	instance
	1	instance of ἀμύμων used as substantive
	2	instances of ἀμύμων in the predicate
Totals:	11	different nouns not denoting persons
	20	instances
	3	anomalous uses (all in Odyssey)
Total instances:	Iliad:	9
	Odyssey:	14
		23

List 5, pp. 117-126

Characters in the Odyssey, except Odysseus and family, called ἀμύμων

A. Characters not mentioned in the Iliad

	1. Aigisthos	1.29	pp. 9, 102, 123	
	2. Alkinoos	8.118, 8.419	p. 118	(2)
	3. Hermione	4.4	p. 122	
	4. Klytoneos	8.123	p. 118	
	5. Laodamas	8.117	p. 118	
	6. Melampos	11.291	p. 117	
	7. Nausikaa	7.303	pp. 121-123	
	8. Phaiakian nobles	8.428	p. 122	
*	9. Phaiakian boxers	8.246	pp. 117, 119,	
	10. Phaiakian father (imaginary)	7.29	p. 120	
	11. Salmoneus	11.236	pp. 122-124	
	12. Teiresias	11.99	p. 117	

* Only passage in either poem where ἀμύμων is used with a negative.

B. Characters mentioned in the Iliad

⁜	1. Achilleus	11.470, 551, 24.18	pp. 124-126	(3)
·※·	2. Antilochos	3.111, 4.187, 11.468, 24.16	pp. 102, 124-126	(4)
	3. Peleus	11.494, 505	pp. 123-124	(2)
	4. Telamon	11.553	p. 125	

⁜ 11.470 = 24.18; 11.551 = II.770 = XVII.280 (cf. Appendix I, List 2, 2 and 9).

·※· 11.468 = 24.16

16 different persons (or groups of persons), 7 of them not characters in the poem.

Total instances: 23

List 6, pp. 127-133, 138-143, 144-149

Passages in the Odyssey in which Odysseus and family are called ἀμύμων

A. Telemachos

a. 4.789	(Penelope)	pp. 127-130

B. Penelope

a. 13.42	(Odysseus)	pp. 130-131
b. 15.15	(Athena)	pp. 131-132
c. 24.196	(Agamemnon)	pp. 138-142

C. Odysseus

a.	2.225	(Mentor)	p. 145
* b.	14.159	(oath)	p. 144
c.	16.100	(Odysseus)	p. 146
* d.	17.156	(oath)	p. 144
* e.	19.304	(oath)	p. 144
f.	19.456	(boar hunt)	p. 146
g.	20.209	(Philoitios)	pp. 146-147
* h.	20.231	(oath)	p. 144
i.	21.99	(contest of the bow)	p. 147
j.	21.325	(Eurymachos)	p. 147

* b. = d. = h. ≈ e.

Telemachos:	1
Penelope:	3
Odysseus:	10
Total instances:	14

List 7, pp. 133-138

'Αμύμων *in Homer with nouns denoting people in personal relationships*

A. υἱός = son

1. Achilleus		XVIII.55	pp. 65, 136
2. Agenor		XXI.546	pp. 20-22, 133
3. Alkimedon		XVI.197	pp. 11, 131-133
4. Antilochos		3.111	pp. 50-51, 133-134
5. Deukalion		XIII.451	pp. 11, 132-133
6. Pandaros	a.	IV.89	pp. 51-54, 133
	b.	V.169	pp. 51-54, 133
7. Rhigmos		XX.484	pp. 11, 132-133
8. Telemachos		4.789	pp. 127, 136-137

B. παῖς, παῖδες = child, children

1. Achilleus	XXIV.85	pp. 65, 136
2. sons of Nestor	X.170	pp. 12, 132-133
3. sons of Portheus	XIV.115	pp. 11, 132-133
4. sons of Tros	XX.231	pp. 18, 133

C. ἑταῖρος, ἕταρος = comrade

1. Laodokos	XVII.698	pp. 11, 132-133
2. Patroklos	XXIII.137	pp. 137-138

D. ἄκοιτις = wife

1. Andromache	VI.374		pp. 12, 137
2. Penelope	13.42		pp. 136-137

E. *Assorted*

1. πατήρ = father	imaginary Phaiakian	7.29	pp. 120, 134
2. μήτηρ = mother	Penelope	15.15	pp. 130, 137
3. θυγάτηρ = daughter	Hermione	4.4	pp. 122, 133
4. κούρη = girl (daughter)	Nausikaa	7.303	pp. 121, 134-136
* 5. ἀνήρ = man (husband)	Odysseus	21.325	pp. 146-147

* See Chap. VIII, p. ooo, n. 3; cf. Herakles in *Megara*, p. 73

In the Iliad:	3 different relationships (counting υἱός and παῖς together)
	12 different persons (or groups of persons)
	14 instances
In the Odyssey:	7 different relationships (1 same as in Iliad)
	7 different persons
	8 instances
Totals:	9 different relationships
	19 different persons (or groups of persons)
Total instances:	Iliad: 14
	Odyssey: 8
	22

APPENDIX II

List 1:	ἰσόθεος φώς	Chap. I, p. 15, n. 2
List 2:	ἐΰς (ἠΰς)	Chap. I, p. 15, n. 3
List 3:	ἀντίθεος	Chap. I, p. 15, n. 3
List 4:	θεοειδής	Chap. I, p. 20, n. 1
List 5:	μεγάθυμος	Chap. I, p. 21, n. 1
List 6:	ἴφθιμος	Chap. I, p. 23, n. 1
List 7:	δαΐφρων	Chap. I, p. 25, n. 1—p. 26 n. 1
List 8:	ἄλκιμος	Chap. II, p. 45, n. 1
List 9:	ἀγλαός	Chap. II, p. 51, n. 3
List 10:	expressions meaning "looking like the gods"	Chap. III, p. 64, n. 1

a = persons also called ἀμύμων.
e = episode in digression or in expanded catalogue.
c = item in a regular catalogue.
ce = small catalogue within an episode of a digression or of an expanded catalogue.
p = formula used most often of Patroklos.

List 1, Chap. I, p. 15, n. 2

Characters in Homer called ἰσόθεος φώς

A. In the Iliad

1. Aias in XI.472^{e}: ὣς εἰπὼν ὁ μὲν ἦρχ', ὁ δ' ἅμ' ἕσπετο ἰσόθεος φώς — Menelaos having suggested they go to aid the wounded Odysseus
2. Ereuthalion in VII.136^{e}: τοῖσι δ' Ἐρευθαλίων πρόμος ἵστατο, ἰσόθεος φώς — an Arkadian victim of the young Nestor
3. Euryalos in
(a) II.565^{e}: τοῖσι δ' ἅμ' Εὐρύαλος τρίτατος κίεν, ἰσόθεος φώς — a leader of the Argives in the catalogue of ships
(b) XXIII.677^{e}: Εὐρύαλος δέ οἱ οἶος ἀνίστατο, ἰσόθεος φώς — as he alone rises to face Epeios in boxing contest
4. Melanippos in XV.559^{e}: ὣς εἰπὼν ὁ μὲν ἦρχ', ὁ δ' ἅμ' ἕσπετο ἰσόθεος φώς — a Trojan, summoned by Hektor to go protect the body of Dolops; he is called ἴφθιμος in XV.547 and ὑπέρθυμος in XV.576. cf. Appendix II, 5, 2

a 5. Menelaos in
(a) IV.212: . . . ὁ δ' ἐν μέσσοισι παρίστατο ἰσόθεος φώς — as he stands wounded, surrounded by comrades, waiting for Machaon

(b) XXIII.569[e]: . . . ὁ δ' ἔπειτα μετηύδα ἰσόθεος φώς — protesting the prize given Antilochos in the chariot race

6. Meriones in XVI.632[e]: ὣς εἰπὼν ὁ μὲν ἦρχ', ὁ δ' ἅμ' ἕσπετο ἰσόθεος φώς — Patroklos having suggested he stop taunting the enemy

a 7. Patroklos in

(a) IX.211: πῦρ δὲ Μενοιτιάδης δαῖεν μέγα, ἰσόθεος φώς — as he tends fire for the embassy's supper

(b) XI.644: Πάτροκλος δὲ θύρῃσιν ἐφίστατο, ἰσόθεος φώς — as he stands in doorway of Nestor's tent

8. Priamos in III.310: ἦ ῥα, καὶ ἐς δίφρον ἄρνας θέτο ἰσόθεος φώς — returning to Troy with sacrificial lambs after refusing to watch the duel between Alexandros and Menelaos

9. Sokos in XI.428[e]: τῷ δ' ἐπαλεξήσων Σῶκος κίεν, ἰσόθεος φώς — as he comes to protect the body of his brother, slain by Odysseus cf. Appendix II, List 7, A. 20

B. In the Odyssey

a 1. Telemachos in

(a) 1.324: αὐτίκα δὲ μνηστῆρας ἐπῴχετο ἰσόθεος φώς — as he rejoins the suitors after the departure of Athena-Mentes

(b) 20.124: Τηλέμαχος δ' εὐνῆθεν ἀνίστατο, ἰσόθεος φώς — as he rises on the morning of Odysseus' revenge on the suitors

In the Iliad:	9	different characters
	12	instances
In the Odyssey:	1	character
	2	instances
Totals:	10	different characters
	14	instances

List 2, Chap. I, p. 15, n. 3

Use of ἐΰς (ἠΰς) *in Homer*

A. Of persons in the Iliad

1. Agamemnon in III.167[e]: ὅς τις ὅδ' ἐστὶν Ἀχαιὸς ἀνὴρ ἠΰς τε μέγας τε — Priamos, asking Helen who he is
2. Aias in III.226[e]: τίς τ' ἄρ' ὅδ' ἄλλος Ἀχαιὸς ἀνὴρ ἠΰς τε μέγας τε — Priamos asking Helen who he is

3. Aineias in
(a) II.819[c]: Δαρδανίων αὖτ' ἦρχεν ἐῢς πάϊς 'Αγχίσαο — in Trojan catalogue
(b) XII.98[e]: τῶν δὲ τετάρτων ἦρχεν ἐῢς πάϊς 'Αγχίσαο — in catalogue of those who follow Hektor and Poulydamas
(c) XVII.491: Ὣς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἀπίθησεν ἐῢς πάϊς 'Αγχίσαο — when Hektor asks him to help capture the horse of Achilleus
4. Akamas in VI.8[c]: υἱὸν 'Ευσσώρου, 'Ακάμαντ' ἠΰν τε μέγαν τε — a Thracian, as Aias kills him
a 5. Bellerophontes in VI.191: ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ γίγνωσκε θεοῦ γόνον ἠῢν ἐόντα — when Proitos learns he has escaped the ambush
6. Bias in XIII.691[c]: Φείδας τε Στιχίος τε Βίας τ' ἐΰς· αὐτὰρ 'Επειῶν — in catalogue of Athenians who try to keep Hektor from ships
7. Demouchos in XX.457[c]: Δημοῦχον δὲ Φιλητορίδην ἠΰν τε μέγαν τε — a Trojan, as Achilleus kills him
8. Epeios in XXIII.664[e]: Ὣς ἔφατ', ὄρνυτο δ' αὐτίκ' ἀνὴρ ἠΰς τε μέγας τε — as he rises to box in funeral games
a 9. Gorgythion in VIII.302-303[e]: . . . ὁ δ' ἀμύμονα Γοργυθίωνα / υἱὸν ἐῢν Πριάμοιο κατὰ στῆθος βάλεν ἰῶι — son of Priamos, as Teukros kills him
10. Iphidamas in XI.221[c]: 'Ιφιδάμας 'Αντηνορίδης ἠΰς τε μέγας τε — son of Antenor, first Trojan to rise and meet Agamemnon
11. Meriones in
(a) XIII.246: Μηριόνης δ' ἄρα οἱ θεράπων ἐῢς ἀντεβόλησεν — as he leaves battle to get spear and meets Idomeneus
(b) XXIII.528[e]: αὐτὰρ Μηριόνης θεράπων ἐῢς 'Ιδομενῆος — as Menelaos leaves him behind in chariot race
(c) XXIII.860[e]: ἂν δ' ἄρα Μηριόνης θεράπων ἐῢς 'Ιδομενῆος — as he rises for archery contest
(d) XXIII.888[e] = XXIII.860: as he rises for spear-throwing contest
a 12. Patroklos in XVI.653: ὄφρ' ἠῢς θεράπων Πηληϊάδεω 'Αχιλῆος — Hera, advising Zeus to let him kill Sarpedon
13. Thrasymelos in XVI.463-464: . . . Θρασύμηλον / ὅς ῥ' ἠῢς θεράπων Σαρπηδόνος ἦεν ἄνακτος — squire of Sarpedon, as Patroklos throws spear at him
14. Tlepolemos in
(a) II.653[c]: Τληπόλεμος δ' 'Ηρακλείδης ἠΰς τε μέγας τε — son of Herakles, in catalogue of ships

(b) V.628[e]: Τληπόλεμον δ' Ἡρακλεΐδην ἠΰν τε μέγαν τε — as he meets Sarpedon in battle

B. Of persons in the Odyssey

1. Nisos in 18.127: Νῖσον Δουλιχιῆα ἐΰν τ' ἔμεν ἀφνειόν τε — father of Amphinomos, the suitor whom Odysseus tries to warn
2. Telemos in 9.508-509: ἔσκε τις ἐνθάδε μάντις ἀνὴρ ἠΰς τε μέγας τε / Τήλεμος — as seer who predicted Odysseus' coming to the Kyklops

* *C. In the genitive singular, of persons in the Iliad and Odyssey*

a 1. Achilleus in
(a) I.393: ἀλλὰ σύ, εἰ δύνασαί γε περίσχεο παιδὸς ἑῆος — Achilleus asking Thetis to appeal to Zeus
(b) XIX.342: τέκνον ἐμόν, δὴ πάμπαν ἀποίχεαι ἀνδρὸς ἑῆος — Zeus asking Athena why she neglects Achilleus in his grief
2. Askalaphos in XV.138: τῶ σ' αὖ νῦν κέλομαι νεθέμεν χόλον υἷος ἑῆος — Athena asking Ares not to try to avenge his dead son, Askalaphos
3. Hektor in
(a) XXIV.422: ὥς τοι κήδονται μάκαρες θεοὶ υἷος ἑῆος — Hermes telling Priamos that the gods have not let his body decay
(b) XXIV.550: οὐ γάρ τι πρήξεις ἀκαχήμενος υἷος ἑῆος — Achilleus urging Priamos not to mourn endlessly for him
4. Ktesios in 15.450: παῖδα γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ἑῆος ἐνὶ μεγάροις ἀτιτάλλω — Eumaios' nurse telling Phoinikian sailors that she can kidnap Eumaios, the son of king Ktesios
5. indefinite in 14.505: ἀμφότερον, φιλότητι καὶ αἰδοῖ φωτὸς ἑῆος — Odysseus, as beggar, trying to get cloak from swineherds

D. With μένος in the Iliad and Odyssey

1. XVII.456: Ὣς εἰπὼν ἵπποισιν ἐνέπνευσεν μένος ἠΰ — as Zeus gives Achilleus' horse strength to take Automedon off field

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* In these passages, ἑῆος is often taken as a possessive pronoun, but Chantraine, I, 251, takes it, rightly, I think, as genitive of ἐΰς.

It is possible that in the description of Elpenor as not very bright, ᾗσιν also should not be taken as a possessive, but as dative plural of ἐΰς: 10.553: οὔτε τι λίην / ἄλκιμος ἐν πολέμωι οὔτε φρεσὶν ᾗσιν ἀρηρώς.

2. XX.80: ἀντία Πηλείωνος, ἐνῆκε δέ οἱ μένος ἠΰ — Apollo giving Aineias strength to oppose Achilleus
3. XXIII.524-525: ἀλλά μιν αἶψα κίχανεν· ὀφέλλετο γὰρ μένος ἠΰ / ἵππου — Agamemnon's mare, Aithe, making effort to win race
4. XXIV.6: Πατρόκλου ποθέων ἀνδροτῆτα καὶ μένος ἠΰ — Achilleus grieving for Patroklos
5. XXIV.442: ἐν δ' ἔπνευσ' ἵπποισι καὶ ἡμιόνοις μένος ἠΰ — Hermes driving Priamos to Achilleus' tent
6. 2.271: εἰ δή τοι σοῦ πατρὸς ἐνέστακται μένος ἠΰ — Mentor encouraging Telemachos to be like his father

E. In the genitive plural, as substantive, in the Iliad and Odyssey

1. XXIV.528: δώρων οἷα δίδωσι κακῶν ἕτερος δὲ ἑάων — Achilleus speaking of the jars of goods and evils
2. 8.325: ἔσταν δ' ἐν προθύροισι θεοί, δωτῆρες ἑάων — Demodokos, in the song of Ares and Aphrodite
3. 8.335: Ἑρμεία, Διὸς υἱέ, διάκτορε, δῶτορ ἑάων — Apollo addressing Hermes in the song of Ares and Aphrodite

In the Iliad:	17 different persons (counting genitive singular) 25 instances 5 instances with μένος 1 instance of genitive plural as substantive
In the Odyssey:	4 different persons, one indefinite (counting genitive singular) 4 instances 1 instance with μένος 2 instances of genitive plural as substantive
Totals:	23 different persons; 29 instances 6 instances with μένος 3 instances of genitive plural
Total instances:	Iliad: 31 Odyssey: 7 38

List 3, Chap. I, p. 15, n. 3

Characters in Homer called ἀντίθεος

A. In the Iliad

a 1. Agenor in XXI.595: Πηλεΐδης δ' ὡρμήσατ' Ἀγήνορος ἀντιθέοιο — as Achilleus attacks

2. Aias in
(a) IX.623: ἀντίθεος Τελαμωνιάδης μετὰ μῦθον ἔειπε — in embassy, suggesting that they go back
(b) X.112[c]: ἀντίθεόν τ' Αἴαντα καὶ Ἰδομενῆα ἄνακτα — in list of chiefs that Nestor suggests awakening

3. Automedon in XVI.865: ἀντίθεον θεράποντα ποδώκεος Αἰακίδαο — as Hektor hurls a spear at him after the death of Patroklos

4. Ganymedes in XX.232[c]: Ἶλός τ' Ἀσσάρακός τε καὶ ἀντίθεος Γανυμήδης — in Aineias' genealogy

5. Leonteus in XXIII.837[ce]: ἂν δὲ Λεοντῆος κρατερὸν μένος ἀντιθέοιο — in list of those who rise for contest, son of ὑπέρθυμος Koronos [II.346]

6. the Lykians in
(a) XII.408[e]: κέκλετο δ' ἀντιθέοισιν ἑλιξάμενος Λυκίοισιν — when Sarpedon urges them not to shirk fighting, but help him break down the rampart
(b) XVI.421[e]: κέκλετ' ἄρ' ἀντιθέοισιν καθαπτόμενος Λυκίοισιν — when Sarpedon urges them not to flee at end of catalogue of Patroklos' victims

7. Lykophontes in VIII.275[c]: Δαίτορά τε Χρομίον τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Λυκοφόντην — in list of Teukros' victims

8. Mestor in XXIV.257[c]: Μήστορά τ' ἀντίθεον καὶ Τρωΐλον ἱππιοχάρμην — in a list of the dead, brave sons of Priamos

9. Molion in XI.322[e]: ἀντίθεον θεράποντα Μολίονα τοῖο ἄνακτος — a Trojan, comrade of Thymbraios, killed by Odysseus

10. Mygdon in III. 186[e]: λαοὺς Ὀτρῆος καὶ Μυγδόνος ἀντιθέοιο — a Phrygian seen by the young Priamos

a 11. Odysseus in XI.140[e]: ἀγγελίην ἐλθόντα σὺν ἀντιθέῳ Ὀδυσῆϊ — mentioned by Agamemnon before he kills the sons of Antimachos, the man who had proposed killing Menelaos and Odysseus when they were envoys about the return of Helen

a 12. Pandaros in

(a) IV.88: Πάνδαρον ἀντίθεον διζημένη, εἴ που ἐφεύροι — when Athena is searching for him

(b) V.168[e]: Πάνδαρον ἀντίθεον διζήμενος, εἴ που ἐφεύροι — when Aineias is looking for him to help halt the attack of Diomedes

13. Phoinix in XXIII.360[e]: ἀντίθεον Φοίνικα, ὀπάονα πατρὸς ἑοῖο — when Achilleus stations him at turnpost of chariot race

14. Polydoros in

(a) XX.407[e]: αὐτὰρ ὁ βῆ σὺν δουρὶ μετ' ἀντίθεον Πολύδωρον — youngest son of Priamos, when Achilleus attacks him

(b) XXI.91[ce]: ἀντίθεον Πολύδωρον, ἐπεὶ βάλες ὀξέϊ δουρί — in genealogy recited to Achilleus by Lykaon, Polydoros' brother

15. Polyneikes in IV.377[e]: ξεῖνος ἅμ' ἀντιθέῳ Πολυνείκεϊ, λαὸν ἀγείρων — brother of Antigone, mentioned by Agamemnon in reminiscence of Tydeus

16. Polyphemos in I.264[c]: Καινέα τ' Ἐξάδιόν τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Πολύφημον — in list of strongest men Nestor has known

17. Polyphetes in XIII.791[c]: Φάλκην Ὀρθαῖόν τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Πολυφήτην — in a list of Trojans who are where the fighting is thickest

18. Rhadamanthys in XIV.322[c]: ἣ τέκε μοι Μίνων τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Ῥαδάμανθυν — in a list recited by Zeus of his mortal mistresses and children

19. Sarpedon in

(a) V.629[e]: ὦρσεν ἐπ' ἀντιθέῳ Σαρπηδόνι μοῖρα κραταιή — when Tlepolemos attacks him

(b) V.663[e]: οἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἀντίθεον Σαρπηδόνα δῖοι ἑταῖροι — when his comrades carry him wounded from battlefield

(c) V.692[e]: οἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἀντίθεον Σαρπηδόνα δῖοι ἑταῖροι — when they lay him down under an oak tree

(d) VI.199[c]: ἡ δ' ἔτεκ' ἀντίθεον Σαρπηδόνα χαλκοκορυστήν — in genealogy of Glaukos

(e) XII.307[e]: ὥς ῥα τότ' ἀντίθεον Σαρπηδόνα θυμὸς ἀνῆκε — before he makes rush on wall

(f) XVI.649: αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ἀντιθέῳ Σαρπηδόνι φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ — when Zeus ponders whether Hektor should slay Patroklos in the struggle over Sarpedon's body

20. Teuthras in V.705[c]: ἀντίθεον Τεύθραντ', ἐπὶ δὲ πλήξιππον Ὀρέστην — an Achaian, in list of Hektor's victims

21. Thrasymedes in XVI.321[e]: στὰς πρόσθεν νέκυος· τοῦ δ' ἀντίθεος Θρασυμήδης — as he defends his brother Antilochos from attack of Maris in catalogue of combats around ships

B. In the Odyssey

1. Arkeisios in 14.182: νώνυμον ἐξ Ἰθάκης Ἀρκεισίου ἀντιθέοιο — Eumaios fears that the suitors, by ambushing Telemachos, will blot out the line of Arkeisios (son of Zeus, grandfather of Odysseus)

a 2. Klytoneos in 8.119[c]: Λαοδάμας θ' Ἅλιός τε καὶ ἀντίθεος Κλυτόνηος — son of Alkinoos, in list of those who rise for contests

a 3. Menelaos in

(a) 8.518[e]: βήμεναι, ἠΰτ' Ἄρηα, σὺν ἀντιθέωι Μενελάωι — in Demodokos' song about the wooden horse

(b) 24.116[e]: ὀτρυνέων Ὀδυσῆα σὺν ἀντιθέωι Μενελάωι — in reference by Agamemnon to collecting the army for Troy

a 4. Neleus in 15.237[e]: ἀντίθεον Νηλῆα, κασιγνήτῳ δὲ γυναῖκα — in Theoklymenos' genealogy

5. Nestor in 11.512[e]: Νέστωρ ἀντίθεος καὶ ἐγὼ νικάσκομεν οἴω — Odysseus in telling Achilleus in Hades about Neoptolemos

a 6. Odysseus in

(a) 1.21: ἀντιθέωι Ὀδυσῆϊ πάρος ἣν γαῖαν ἱκέσθαι — in reference to Poseidon's anger against Odysseus

(b) 2.17[e]: καὶ γὰρ τοῦ φίλος υἱὸς ἅμ' ἀντιθέωι Ὀδυσῆϊ — in reference to the son of Aigyptios who went to Troy with Odysseus

(c) 4.741: ὃν καὶ Ὀδυσσῆος φθῖσαι γόνον ἀντιθέοιο — Penelope fears that the race of Odysseus will perish if the suitors kill Telemachos

(d) 6.331: ἀντιθέωι πάρος ἣν γαῖαν ἱκέσθαι — same as (a) above

(e) 13.126: λήθετ' ἀπειλάων, τὰς ἀντιθέωι Ὀδυσῆϊ — on Poseidon's irritation when the Phaiakians take Odysseus home

(f) 14.40: ἀντιθέου γὰρ ἄνακτος ὀδυρόμενος καὶ ἀχεύων — Eumaios on his grief for his absent master

(g) 15.90: μὴ πατέρ' ἀντίθεον διζήμενος αὐτὸς ὄλωμαι — Telemachos on his anxiety to return home

(h) 19.456[e]: ὠτειλὴν δ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀμύμονος ἀντιθέοιο — in digression on how Odysseus received scar on boar hunt when young

(i) 20.369: μνηστήρων, οἳ δῶμα κατ' ἀντιθέου Ὀδυσῆος — Theoklymenos on doom awaiting suitors for their abuse of Odysseus' home

(j) 21.254: ἀντιθέου Ὀδυσῆος, ὅ τ' οὐ δυναμεσθα τανύσσαι — Eurymachos on inferiority of suitors to Odysseus

(k) 22.291: ἀντιθέωι Ὀδυσῆϊ δόμον κατ' ἀλητεύοντο — Philoitios vaunting over Ktesippos, having taken revenge for K's treatment of Odysseus while he was disguised as beggar

7. Otos in 11.308-310[c]: Ὦτόν τ' ἀντίθεον τηλεκλειτόν τ' Ἐφιάλτην, / οὓς δὴ μηκίστους θρέψε ζείδωρος ἄρουρα / καὶ πολὺ καλλίστους μετά γε κλυτὸν Ὠρίωνα — giant, son of Iphimedeia, in catalogue of fair women

*a 8. Penelope in

(a) 11.117: μνώμενοι ἀντιθέην ἄλοχον καὶ ἕδνα διδόντες — Teiresias telling Odysseus about the suitors wooing his wife

(b) 13.378: μνώμενοι ἀντιθέην ἄλοχον καὶ ἕδνα διδόντες — Athena doing same

a 9. Phaiakians in 6.241: Φαιήκεσσ' ὅδ' ἀνὴρ ἐπιμίσγεται ἀντιθέοισι — Nausikaa commenting to her maids on Odysseus appearance among Phaiakians

10. Polyphemos in 1.70: ἀντίθεον Πολύφημον, ὅου κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον — Zeus on Poseidon's anger because of the Kyklops

11. Rhexenor in 7.146: Ἀρήτη, θύγατερ Ῥηξήνορος ἀντιθέοιο — Odysseus addressing Phaiakian queen; Rhexenor is Alkinoos' brother too

12. Thrasymedes in 3.414[c]: Περσεύς τ' Ἄρητός τε καὶ ἀντίθεος Θρασυμήδης — in list of Nestor's sons collecting for sacrifice

13. the suitors in 14.18: ἀντίθεοι μνηστῆρες, ἐπεὶ προΐαλλε συβώτης — in reference to their depletion of Odysseus' boars

14. ἕταροι (comrades) in 4.571[e]: αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐπὶ νῆας ἅμ' ἀντιθέοις ἑτάροισιν — of Menelaos in Egypt, in tale of Proteus

15. ἕταροι in 11.371: εἴ τινας ἀντιθέων ἑτάρων ἴδες, οἵ τοι ἅμ' αὐτῶι — Alkinoos asking if Odysseus saw any of his Trojan comrades in Hades

16. ἕταροι in 14.247[e]: νῆας εὖ στείλαντα, σὺν ἀντιθέοις ἑτάροισιν — (imaginary) of Cretan in false tale Odysseus tells Eumaios

* Penelope is the only woman called ἀντιθέη in either poem.

17. ἕταροι in 14.385[e]: πολλὰ χρήματ' ἄγοντα, σὺν ἀντιθέοις ἑτάροισι — (alleged) of Odysseus in tale an Aitolian stranger told Eumaios
18. ἕταρα in 17.54: τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ προὔπεμψα σὺν ἀντιθέοις ἑτάροισι — of Telemachos, with whom he sent Theoklymenos
19. ἕταροι in 19.216: εἰ ἐτεὸν δὴ κεῖθι σὺν ἀντιθέοις ἑτάροισι — Penelope referring to the comrades of Odysseus whom the beggar claims to have entertained in Crete on their way to Troy
20. ἕταροι in 24.300: ἀντιθέους θ' ἑτάρους; ἦ ἔμπορος εἰλήλουθας — Laertes referring to the comrades that he assumes the disguised Odysseus has with him

In the Iliad:	21 different characters (or groups of characters) 30 instances
In the Odyssey:	20 different characters (or groups of characters) 32 instances

N.B. Two characters, Odysseus and Thrasymedes, are called ἀντίθεος in both poems

Totals:	39 different characters (or groups of characters) 62 instances

List 4, Chap. I, p. 20, n. 1

Characters in Homer called θεοειδής

A. In the Iliad

1. Alexandros in
   (a) III.16: Τρωσὶν μὲν προμάχιζεν Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής — as the armies meet for the first time
   (b) III.27: ὣς ἐχάρη Μενέλαος Ἀλέξανδρον θεοειδέα — as Menelaos first sees him, thinking to get revenge
   (c) III.30: τὸν δ' ὡς οὖν ἐνόησεν Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής — as he first sees Menelaos
   (d) III.37: δείσας Ἀτρέος υἱὸν Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής — as he shrinks back among his comrades
   (e) III.58: τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής — as he answers Hektor's rebuke on the field
   (f) III.450: εἴ που ἐσαθρήσειεν Ἀλέξανδρον θεοειδέα — as Menelaos looks for him after he has left the battlefield
   (g) VI.290: Σιδονίων, τὰς αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής — in

reference to the Sidonian robes which he brought back with Helen

(h) VI.332 = III.58: as he answers Hektor's second rebuke in Troy

(i) VI.517: τὸν πρότερος προσέειπεν Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής — as he joins Hektor to return to battle

(j) XI.581[e] = III.30: as he sees Eurypylos stripping the armor from a victim

(k) XIII.774[e] = III.58: as he answers another of Hektor's rebukes (this one unjust)

(l) XXIV.763[e]: ἦ μέν μοι πόσις ἐστὶν Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής — Helen explaining her relation to the family as she laments over Hektor

2. Aretos in XVII.494[e]: τοῖσι δ' ἅμα Χρομίος τε καὶ Ἄρητος θεοειδής — as he and Chromios join Hektor and Aineias in attack
3. Askanios in II.862[c]: Φόρκυς αὖ Φρύγας ἦγε καὶ Ἀσκάνιος θεοειδής — an allied leader in the Trojan catalogue
4. Chromios in XVII.534[ce]: Ἕκτωρ Αἰνείας τ' ἠδὲ Χρομίος θεοειδής — as he, Hektor, and Aineias leave Aretos (see § 2 above) dead
5. Deïphobos in XII.94[ce]: τῶν δὲ τρίτων Ἕλενος καὶ Δηΐφοβος θεοειδής — as he joins others in mass attack on wall
6. Neoptolemos in XIX.327: εἴ που ἔτι ζώει γε Νεοπτόλεμος θεοειδής — Achilleus, lamenting over Patroklos, says he could suffer no worse even if he heard that his father was dead, or Neoptolemos
7. Polyxeinos in II.623[c]: τῶν δὲ τετάρτων ἦρχε Πολύξεινος θεοειδής — a leader of the Eleans in the catalogue of ships
8. Priamos in

(a) XXIV.217: τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν γέρων Πρίαμος θεοειδής — as he answers Hekabe who tried to restrain him from going to Achilleus

(b) XXIV.299: τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη Πρίαμος θεοειδής — as he agrees to Hekabe's suggestion of asking for a confirmatory omen

(c) XXIV.372: τὸν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα γέρων Πρίαμος θεοειδής — as first he answers Hermes (disguised as a young man)

(d) XXIV.386 = 372: as he asks Hermes who he is

(e) XXIV.405 = 372: as he asks Hermes if Hektor's body is still intact

(f) XXIV.483: ὣς Ἀχιλεὺς θάμβησεν ἰδὼν Πρίαμον θεοειδέα — as Achilleus first sees him in the tent

(g) XXIV.552 = 372: after Achilleus has spoken on their grief

(h) XXIV.634: τὸν πρότερος προσέειπε γέρων Πρίαμος θεοειδής — as he asks for a place to sleep

(i) XXIV.659 = 372: after Achilleus has asked how many days truce he wants for Hektor's funeral

B. In the Odyssey

a 1. Alkinoos in 7.231: πὰρ δέ οἱ Ἀρήτη τε καὶ Ἀλκίνοος θεοειδής — after the other Phaiakians depart, leaving Odysseus in the palace

2. Antinoos in 21.277: Εὐρύμαχον δὲ μάλιστα καὶ Ἀντίνοον θεοειδέα — as Odysseus (in disguise) entreats the suitors to let him try the bow

3. Eurylochos in 10.205: τῶν μὲν ἐγὼν ἄρχον, τῶν δ' Εὐρύλοχος θεοειδής — as Odysseus and his comrades shake lots to see which half shall investigate the smoke from Circe's house

4. Eurymachos in

(a) 4.628: Ἀντίνοος δὲ καθῆστο καὶ Εὐρύμαχος θεοειδής — as Noemon comes up to the suitors to ask when Telemachos is returning

(b) 21.186: Ἀντίνοος δ' ἔτ' ἐπεῖχε καὶ Εὐρύμαχος θεοειδής — as the other suitors are trying, and failing, to string the bow

5. Nausithoös in 6.7[e]: ἔνθεν ἀναστήσας ἄγε Ναυσίθοος θεοειδής — in a digression describing the Phaiakians move from Hypereia to Scheria

a 6. Telemachos in

(a) 1.113: τὴν δὲ πολὺ πρῶτος ἴδε Τηλέμαχος θεοειδής — as Athena-Mentes enters the palace

(b) 3.343: δὴ τότ' Ἀθηναίη καὶ Τηλέμαχος θεοειδής — as he and Athena-Mentor prepare to depart after Nestor's feast

(c) 14.173[c]: Λαέρτης θ' ὁ γέρων καὶ Τηλέμαχος θεοειδής — in a list by Eumaios of those who desire Odysseus' return

(d) 16.20: ὣς τότε Τηλέμαχον θεοειδέα δῖος ὑφορβὸς — describing how Eumaios welcomes Telemachos on his return from Pylos

(e) 17.328: τὸν δὲ πολὺ πρῶτος ἴδε Τηλέμαχος θεοειδής — as Odysseus (in disguise) first enters the palace
(f) 17.391: ζώει ἐνὶ μεγάροις καὶ Τηλέμαχος θεοειδής — Eumaios saying that he does not fear the insolence of the suitors while Penelope and Telemachos are still alive

7. Theoklymenos in
(a) 15.271: τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε Θεοκλύμενος θεοειδής — after Telemachos has told him who he is and where he is going
(b) 15.508: τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε Θεοκλύμενος θεοειδής — as he asks Telemachos where he should go, after they arrive in Ithaka
(c) 17.151: τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπε Θεοκλύμενος θεοειδής — as he tells Penelope and Telemachos that Odysseus will soon appear
(d) 20.350: τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετεέιπε Θεοκλύμενος θεοειδής — as he tells the suitors his vision of the doom hanging over them
(e) 20.363: τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν Θεοκλύμενος θεοειδής — as he replies to Eurymachos' mockery of his vision

In the Iliad:	8	different characters
	27	instances
In the Odyssey:	7	different characters
	17	instances
Totals:	15	different characters
	44	instances

List 5, Chap. I, p. 21, n. 1

Use of μεγάθυμος *in Homer*

A. Of individual men, in the Iliad

a 1. Achilleus in

(a) XVII.214e: τεύχεσι λαμπόμενος μεγαθύμου Πηλεΐωνος — of Hektor wearing his armor as he marshals the Trojans to get the body of Patroklos
(b) XVIII.226: δεινὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς μεγαθύμου Πηλεΐωνος — of the fire above his head as he shouts at the trench
(c) XIX.75: μῆνιν ἀπειπόντος μεγαθύμου Πηλεΐωνος — as

the Achaians rejoice to hear him unsay his anger against Agamemnon
(d) XX.498^{e}: ὡς ὑπ' Ἀχιλλῆος μεγαθύμου μώνυχες ἵπποι — as his horses trample bodies and armor after he has slain Rhigmos
(e) XXI.153^{e}: Πηλεΐδη μεγάθυμε, τίη γενεὴν ἐρεείνεις; — as Asteropaios answers his question about who he (Aster.) is
(f) XXIII.168: δημὸν ἑλὼν ἐκάλυψε νέκυν μεγάθυμος Ἀχιλλεύς — as he prepares the body of Patroklos for the pyre

2. Agakles in XVI.571^{e}: υἱὸς Ἀγακλῆος μεγαθύμου, δῖος Ἐπειγεύς — as his son is killed by Hektor in the struggle over Sarpedon's body

a 3. Agenor in
(a) IV.467^{e}: νεκρὸν γὰρ ἐρύοντα ἰδὼν μεγάθυμος Ἀγήνωρ — as he kills Elephenor, chief of the Abantes (cf. C. 1 below), who is trying to strip the armor from a Trojan corpse
(b) XIII.598^{e}: καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐκ χειρὸς ἔρυσεν μεγάθυμος Ἀγήνωρ — as he pulls Menelaos' spear from Helenos' hand

4. Aias in
(a) IV.479^{e}: ἔπλεθ' ὑπ' Αἴαντος μεγαθύμου δουρὶ δαμέντι — as he kills Simoeisios
(b) XVII.303^{e} = IV.479: as he kills Hippothoös; cf. XVII. 280 (p. 53) and Iphitos 13 b below

5. Aineias in V.534^{e}: Αἰνείω ἕταρον μεγαθύμου Δηϊκόωντα — as Agamemnon kills his comrade Deïkoön; cf. below 8 and 15 a

6. Alektryon in XVII.602^{e}: υἱὸν Ἀλεκτρυόνος μεγαθύμου, παῦσε δὲ χάρμης — as Hektor wounds his son, Leitos, leader of the Boiotians, in the struggle over Patroklos' body

7. Bathykles in XVI.594^{e}: ἐτράπετ', ἔκτεινεν δὲ Βαθυκλῆα μεγάθυμον — a rich Myrmidon, as Glaukos kills him in the struggle over Sarpedon's body

8. Diokles in V.547^{ce}: Ὀρτίλοχος δ' ἄρ' ἔτικτε Διοκλῆα μεγάθυμον — in genealogy of his sons as they are killed by Aineias; cf. 5 above

9. Diomedes in VI.145^{e}: Τυδεΐδη μεγάθυμε, τίη γενεὴν ἐρεείνεις; — as Glaukos answers his question about who he (Glaukos) is; cf. 1. (e) above

10. Epeios in XXIII.694^{e}: ὡς πληγεὶς ἀνέπαλτ' αὐτὰρ μεγάθυμος Ἐπειός — as he hits Euryalos in boxing match

11. Epikles in XII.379[e]: Σαρπήδοντος ἑταῖρον, Ἐπικλῆα μεγάθυμον — as Aias kills him; cf. 14 below

12. Hektor in

(a) XV.440[e]: τὸν δ' Ἕκτωρ μεγάθυμος ἀπέκτανε· ποῦ νυ τοι ἰοὶ — as Aias tells Teukros that he has killed Lycophron

(b) XVIII.335: τεύχεα καὶ κεφαλήν, μεγαθύμου σοῖο φονῆος — Achilleus swearing to Patroklos' corpse that he will avenge his death at Hektor's hands

13. Iphitos in

(a) II.518[c]: υἷες Ἰφίτου μεγαθύμου Ναυβολίδαο — father of Schedios and Epistrophos, leaders of Phokians in catalogue of ships

(b) XVII.306[e]: τυτθόν· ὁ δὲ Σχεδίον, μεγαθύμου Ἰφίτου υἱόν — as Hektor kills his son Schedios, aiming at Aias in retaliation for the death of Hippothoös; cf. 4 b above

14. Menestheus in

(a) XII.373[e]: εὖτε Μενεσθῆος μεγαθύμου πύργον ἵκοντο — as Aias and Teukros arrive to help him defend a bastion against the Lykian attack in which Epikles is killed; cf. 11 above

(b) XV.331[ce]: τὸν δὲ Μενεσθῆος μεγαθύμου πιστὸν ἑταῖρον — as Hektor kills his comrade Arkesilaos in a list of Trojan slayings

15. Nestor in

(a) V.565[e]: τὸν δ' ἴδεν Ἀντίλοχος, μεγαθύμου Νέστορος υἱός — as his son Antilochos joins Menelaos to protect the corpses of the sons of Diokles, killed by Aineias; cf. 5 and 8 above

(b) XIII.400[e]: ἵππους δ' Ἀντίλοχος, μεγαθύμου Νέστορος υἱὸς — as his son Antilochos drives away with the horses of Asios

(c) XVII.653: ζωὸν ἔτ' Ἀντίλοχον, μεγαθύμου Νέστορος υἱόν — as Aias asks Menelaos if he can see Antilochos and send him to tell Achilleus about Patroklos' death

(d) XXIII.541: εἰ μὴ ἄρ' Ἀντίλοχος μεγαθύμου Νέστορος υἱὸς — as Antilochos rises to protest Achilleus' distribution of prizes in the chariot race

(e) XXIII.596: ἦ ῥα, καὶ ἵππον ἄγων μεγαθύμου Νέστορος υἱός — as Antilochos apologizes and gives his prize to Menelaos

a 16. Patroklos in XVI.818: Ἕκτωρ δ' ὡς εἶδεν Πατροκλῆα

μεγάθυμον — as, stunned by Euphorbos and Apollo, he tries to avoid Hektor

a 17. Poulydamas in XIV.454[e]: οὐ μὰν αὖτ' ὀΐω μεγαθύμου Πανθοΐδαο — as he boasts (in the third person) over Prothoenor; cf. p. 48

18. Protesilaos in
 (a) II.706[c]: αὐτοκασίγνητος μεγαθύμου Πρωτεσιλάου — as Podarkes, son of his brother, marshals the Phylakians in catalogue of ships
 (b) XVI.286[e]: νηῒ πάρα πρύμνῃ μεγαθύμου Πρωτεσιλάου — as Patroklos begins his aristeia where the fighting is thickest, beside the ship of Protesilaos

19. Tydeus in
 (a) V.25[e]: ἵππους δ' ἐξελάσας μεγαθύμου Τυδέος υἱὸς — as Diomedes drives away with the horses of the son of Dares; cf. 15 b above and C 10 a below
 (b) V.235: νῶϊ δ' ἐπαΐξας μεγαθύμου Τυδέος υἱός — as Pandaros, joining Aineias in an attack on Diomedes, tells Aineias to manage his own horses, lest Diomedes attack them as the horses shy under unaccustomed hands on the reins
 (c) V.335: ἔνθ' ἐπορεξάμενος μεγαθύμου Τυδέος υἱός — as Diomedes attacks Aphrodite
 (d) X.509: νόστου δὴ μνῆσαι, μεγαθύμου Τυδέος υἱέ — as Athena warns Diomedes to return to the Achaian camp from the night expedition with Odysseus

B. Of individual men, in the Odyssey

a 1. Achilleus in 3.189[c]: οὓς ἄγ' Ἀχιλλῆος μεγαθύμου φαίδιμος υἱός — in list of Achaians whom Nestor has heard of as arriving safely home

a 2. Deukalion in 19.180[c]: πατρὸς ἐμοῖο πατήρ, μεγαθύμου Δευκαλίωνος — in genealogy given by Odysseus in false tale

3. Nausithoös in 7.62[c]: Ναυσίθοον μεγάθυμον, ὃς ἐν Φαίηξιν ἄνασσε — in genealogy of Phaiakian royal house given by Athena to Odysseus

a 4. Neleus in 15.229[e]: Νηλέα τε μεγάθυμον, ἀγαυότατον ζωόντων — in Theoklymenos' genealogy

a 5. Odysseus in 15.2: οἴχετ', Ὀδυσσῆος μεγαθύμου φαίδιμον υἱόν — as Athena goes to Telemachos in Sparta

6. Oikles in 15.243[ce]: Ἀντιφάτης μὲν τίκτεν Ὀϊκλῆα μεγάθυμον

— cousin of Theoklymenos, listed in his genealogy; cf. 4 above

7. Peirithoös in 21.296[e]: ἄασ' ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ μεγαθύμου Πειριθόοιο — as Antinoös refers to how Eurytion the Kentaur got drunk in Peirithoös' house

a 8. Telemachos in
(a) 3.364: πάντες ὁμηλικίη μεγαθύμου Τηλεμάχοιο — as Athena-Mentor refers to his crew
(b) 3.423: εἷς δ' ἐπὶ Τηλεμάχου μεγαθύμου νῆα μέλαινα — as Nestor orders one of his sons to fetch Telemachos' crew to attend a sacrifice

C. Of nations, in the Iliad and Odyssey

1. Abantes in
(a) II.541[c]: Χαλκωδοντιάδης, μεγαθύμων ἀρχὸς Ἀβάντων — led by Elephenor in catalogue of ships
(b) IV.464[e] = II.541: just before Elephenor is killed by Agenor; cf. A. 3 a above

2. Achaians in
(a) I.123: πῶς γάρ τοι δώσουσι γέρας μεγάθυμοι Ἀχαιοί; — Achilleus protesting Agamemnon's demand of a prize to replace Chryseis
(b) I.135: ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν δώσουσι γέρας μεγάθυμοι Ἀχαιοί — Agamemnon, reiterating his demand
(c) 24.57: ὣς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἔσχοντο φόβου μεγάθυμοι Ἀχαιοί — Agamemnon describing how Nestor reassured the Achaians after the wailing of the Nereids at Achilleus' funeral had frightened them

3. Aitolians in
(a) IX.549[e]: Κουρήτων τε μεσηγὺ καὶ Αἰτωλῶν μεγαθύμων — Phoinix describing the quarrel over the boar slain by Meleagros
(b) XXIII.633[ce]: οὔτ' αὐτῶν Πυλίων οὔτ' Αἰτωλῶν μεγαθύμων — Nestor boasting that no one of the Epeians, nor Pylians, nor Aitolians was his equal in athletic contests when he was young

4. Epeians in
(a) XI.732[e]: ἀμφὶ ῥοὰς ποταμοῖο. ἀτὰρ μεγάθυμοι Ἐπειοί — Nestor describing a battle between Pylians and Epeians at the river Alpheios

(b) XI.744[e]: στῆν ῥα μετὰ προμάχοισιν· ἀτὰρ μεγάθυμοι Ἐπειοί — Nestor describing how he fought in the front ranks as the Epeians fled

(c) XV.519[ce]: Φυλεΐδεω ἕταρον, μεγαθύμων ἀρχὸν Ἐπειῶν — Poulydamas stripping armor from comrade of Meges, son of Phyleus in list of Trojan slayings

5. Kaukones in 3.366: νῦν· ἀτὰρ ἠῶθεν μετὰ Καύκωνας μεγαθύμους — Athena-Mentor claiming he has debt to collect from Kaukones
6. Kephallenians in II.631[c]: αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἦγε Κεφαλλῆνας μεγαθύμους — led by Odysseus in catalogue of ships
7. Paphlagonians in V.577[e]: ἀρχὸν Παφλαγόνων μεγαθύμων ἀσπιστάων — as Menelaos kills their leader Pylaimenes

a 8. Phaiakians in 7.16: μή τις Φαιήκων μεγαθύμων ἀντιβολήσας — as Athena pours mist around Odysseus to prevent him being seen

9. Phthians in XIII.699[ce]: οἱ μὲν πρὸ Φθίων μεγαθύμων θωρηχθέντες — in list of those who try unsuccessfully to stop Hektor's attack on ships
10. Trojans in

(a) V.27[e]: Τρῶες δὲ μεγάθυμοι ἐπεὶ ἴδον υἷε Δάρητος — describing their reaction to Diomedes' slaying of the son of Dares and capture of his horses; cf. A. 19 a above

(b) V.102: ὄρνυσθε, Τρῶες μεγάθυμοι, κέντορες ἵππων — Pandaros rousing them after he has wounded Diomedes

(c) VIII.155[ce]: καὶ Τρώων ἄλοχοι μεγαθύμων ἀπιστάων — Nestor listing those who will not believe Hektor if he calls Diomedes a coward

(d) X.205: θυμῶι τολμήεντι μετὰ Τρῶας μεγαθύμους — Nestor proposing night expedition to Trojan camp

(e) XI.294[e]: ὣς ἐπ' Ἀχαιοῖσι σεῦε Τρῶας μεγαθύμους — as Hektor rouses the Trojans when Agamemnon withdraws wounded

(f) XI.459[e]: Τρῶες δὲ μεγάθυμοι ὅπως ἴδον αἷμ' Ὀδυσῆος — as they see the blood spurting when Odysseus draws the spear of Sokos out of his flesh

(g) XIII.456[e]: ἤ τινά που Τρώων ἑταρίσσαιτο μεγαθύμων — Deïphobos pondering whether to attack Idomeneus alone or seek a comrade

(h) XIII.737: Τρῶες δὲ μεγάθυμοι, ἐπεὶ κατὰ τεῖχος ἔβησαν

— Poulydamas summing up the situation on the battle field in a speech to Hektor

(i) XVII.420[e]: ὣς δέ τις αὖ Τρώων μεγαθύμων αὐδήσασκε — as they encourage each other in the struggle over Patroklos' body

(j) XXIII.175: δώδεκα δὲ Τρώων μεγαθύμων υἱέας ἐσθλούς — as Achilleus immolates captives on pyre of Patroklos; cf. 1 f above

(k) XXIII.181 = XXIII.175: as he addresses corpse

D. Anomalous uses in the Iliad and Odyssey

* 1. γερόντων in II.53: βουλὴν δὲ πρῶτον μεγαθύμων ἷζε γερόντων — Agamemnon summoning council to tell them his dream

2. ταῦρον in XVI.487-488[e]: ἠΰτε ταῦρον ἔπεφνε λέων ἀγέληφι μετελθών / αἴθωνα μεγάθυμον, ἐν εἰλιπόδεσσι βόεσσι — simile of lion killing bull as Patroklos kills Sarpedon

3. Athena in

(a) 8.520[e]: νικῆσαι καὶ ἔπειτα διὰ μεγάθυμον Ἀθήνην — in Demodokos' song about the wooden horse

(b) 13.121: ὤπασαν οἴκαδ' ἰόντι διὰ μεγάθυμον Ἀθήνην — in reference to the gifts given Odysseus by the Phaiakians

In the Iliad:	19	different characters
	37	instances
	7	different nations
	23	instances
	2	anomalous instances (old men and bull)
In the Odyssey:	8	different characters (1, Achilleus, same as Iliad)
	9	instances
	3	different nations (1, Achaians, same as Iliad)
	3	instances
	2	anomalous instances (both Athena)
Totals:	26	different characters
	10	different nations
	3	different anomalous nouns
	46	instances of characters in both poems
	26	instances of nations in both poems
	4	anomalous instances in both poems

* The council of those whom Agamemnon consults is often called γέροντες, but Nestor appears to be the only aged member.

Total instances:	Iliad:	62
	Odyssey:	14
		76

List 6, Chap. I, n. 23, p. 1

Use of ἴφθιμος *in Homer*

A. Of men, in the Iliad

a 1. Achilleus in XX.356^{e}-357: ἀργαλέον δέ μοί ἐστι καὶ ἰφθίμωι περ ἐόντι / τόσσουσδ' ἀνθρώπους ἐφέπεν καὶ πᾶσι μάχεσθαι — as he urges other Achaians to fight with him against Trojans

2. Agastrophos in XI.373^{e}: ἦ τοι ὁ μὲν θώρηκα Ἀγαστρόφου ἰφθίμοιο — after Diomedes has killed him and is stripping his armor

3. Aias in V.625^{e}: οἵ ἑ μέγαν περ ἐόντα καὶ ἴφθιμον καὶ ἀγαυὸν — as he is forced by the superior number of Trojans to stop stripping the armor of the man he has just killed

4. Aineias in XVI.620^{e}: Αἰνεία, χαλεπόν σε καὶ ἴφθιμόν περ ἐόντα — Meriones taunting him with not being able to conquer everybody

5. Danaans in XI.290^{e}: ἰφθίμων Δαναῶν, ἵν' ὑπέρτερον εὖχος ἄρησθε — Hektor urging the Trojans to attack, after Agamemnon's withdrawal

6. Lykians in
   (a) XII.375^{e}-376: οἱ δ' ἐπ' ἐπάλξεις βαῖνον ἐρεμνῆι λαίλαπι ἶσοι / ἴφθιμοι Λυκίων ἡγήτορες ἠδὲ μέδοντες — as they attack the Athenians
   (b) XII.417^{e}: οὔτε γὰρ ἴφθιμοι Λύκιοι Δαναῶν ἐδύναντο — as they, shamed by Sarpedon's rebuke, renew their attack, but still cannot break down the rampart of the Danaans.
   (c) XVI.659: ἔνθ' οὐδ' ἴφθιμοι Λύκιοι μένον, ἀλλὰ φόβηθεν — as they retreat after Sarpedon's death, at Zeus' will

7. Melanippos in XV.547^{e}: ἴφθιμον Μελάνιππον. ὁ δ' ὄφρα μὲν εἰλίποδας βοῦς — as Hektor summons him to protect body of Dolops

a 8. Menelaos in XVII.554^{e}: ἴφθιμον Μενέλαον — ὁ γάρ ῥά οἱ ἐγγύθεν ἦεν — as Athena urges him to defend body of Patroklos

9. Pelagon in V.695^{e}: ἴφθιμος Πελάγων, ὅς οἱ φίλος ἦεν ἑταῖρος — as he removes spear from thigh of Sarpedon, his comrade

10. Sarpedon in

(a) V.675[e]: ἴφθιμον Διὸς υἱὸν ἀποκτάμεν ὀξέϊ χαλκῶι — in reference to Odysseus, not being fated to kill him, deciding not to pursue the Lykians who are carrying him from the field

(b) XII.410[e]-411: ἀργαλέον δέ μοί ἐστι καὶ ἰφθίμωι περ ἐόντι / μούνωι ῥηξαμένωι θέσθαι παρὰ νηυσὶ κέλευθον — as he urges the Lykians to help him storm the wall

11. Sthenelos in XXIII.511[e]: ἴφθιμος Σθένελος, ἀλλ' ἐσσυμένως λάβ' ἀέθλον — as he takes up the prize Diomedes, his comrade, has won in chariot race
12. Sthenelos and Eurymedon in VIII.114: ἴφθιμοι, Σθένελός τε καὶ Εὐρυμέδων ἀγαπήνωρ — as charioteers of Diomedes when he rescues Nestor from the plight N's weak charioteer and slow horses have gotten him into [VIII.104]
13. Thoas in IV.534 = V.625 (§ 3 above): as Thracians prevent him from stripping armor of Peiros, whom he has just killed
14. indefinite in VIII.144: οὐδὲ μάλ' ἴφθιμος, ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτερός ἐστι — Nestor reminding Diomedes that no man, however strong, can go counter to the stronger will of Zeus

B. Of men, in the Odyssey

1. Hades in

   (a) 10.534: ἰφθίμωι τ' Ἀΐδηι καὶ ἐπαινῆι Περσεφονείηι — Circe instructing Odysseus upon rites to be performed when he gets to Hades

   (b) 11.47 = 10.534, when rites are performed
2. The Laistrygonians in 10.119-120: φοίτων ἴφθιμοι Λαιστρυγόνες ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος / μυρίοι, οὐκ ἄνδρεσσιν ἐοικότες, ἀλλὰ Γίγασιν — as they gather to attack the comrades of Odysseus moored in their cove
3. Proteus in 4.365: Πρωτέος ἰφθίμου θυγάτηρ ἁλίοιο γέροντος — as his daughter comes to help Menelaos
4. subjects of a king in 19.110[e]: ἀνδράσιν ἐν πολλοῖσι καὶ ἰφθίμοισιν ἀνάσσων — in the simile of the ἀμύμων king
5. subjects of Agamemnon in 24.26[e]: οὕνεκα πολλοῖσίν τε καὶ ἰφθίμοισιν ἄνασσες — Achilleus telling him why the Achaians thought he would always be dear to Zeus
6. the comrades of Odysseus in

   (a) 20.20: ἰφθίμους ἑτάρους· σὺ δ' ἐτόλμας, ὄφρα σε μῆτις — as Odysseus remembers how Cyclops ate them

(b) 23.313: ἰφθίμων ἑτάρων, οὓς ἤσθιεν οὐδ' ἐλέαιρεν — the same, in summary of adventures to Penelope

7. an indefinite man in 16.88-89: πρῆξαι δ' ἀργαλέον τι μετὰ πλεόνεσσιν ἐόντα / ἄνδρα καὶ ἴφθιμον, ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτεροί εἰσι — Telemachos explaining to the beggar why he puts up with the suitors
8. the suitors in 16.244: ἄνδρε δύω πολλοῖσι καὶ ἰφθίμοισι μάχεσθαι — Telemachos in consternation at Odysseus' proposal that the two of them alone take on the suitors

C. *Of women, in the Iliad and Odyssey*

1. Aigialeia in V.415: ἰφθίμη ἄλοχος Διομήδεος ἱπποδάμοιο — Dione, comforting Aphrodite, whom Diomedes wounded, says Diomedes had better take care lest he be killed and leave his wife mourning
2. mother of Eurystheus in XIX.116: ἰφθίμην ἄλοχον Σθενέλου Περσηϊάδαο — Agamemnon referring to story of how Hera deceived Zeus by causing the wife of Sthenelos to give birth to Eurystheus before Alkmene bore Herakles
3. daughter of Antiphates in 10.106: θυγατέρ' ἰφθίμῃ Λαιστρυγόνος 'Αντιφάταο — when the comrades of Odysseus meet her in Laistrygonia
4. Arete in 12.452: σοὶ καὶ ἰφθίμῃ ἀλόχωι· ἔχθρον δέ μοί ἐστιν — Odysseus concluding his tale in the palace of Alkinoos
5. Ktimene in 15.364: θυγατέρ' ἰφθίμῃ, τὴν ὁπλοτάτην τέκε παίδων — Eumaios describing how he was brought up with Odysseus' sister

*a 6. Penelope in

(a) 16.332: ἵνα μὴ . . . ἰφθίμη βασίλεια τέρεν κατὰ δάκρυον εἴβοι — as the comrades of Telemachos sent a message of his safe return from Pylos to relieve her fears

(b) 23.93: ἰφθίμη παράκοιτις, ἐπεὶ ἴδεν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν — as Odysseus expects her to recognize him after the slaughter of suitors

7. Pero in 11.287[ce]: τοῖσι δ' ἐπ' ἰφθίμην Πηρὼ τέκε, θαῦμα βροτοῖσι — in list of children of Chloris, in catalogue of fair women

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* cf. Iphthime as a proper name, of Penelope's sister in 4.797: 'Ιφθίμῃ, κούρῃ μεγαλήτορος 'Ικαρίοιο.

D. With nouns not denoting persons in the Iliad and Odyssey

1. κάρηνα = heads in XXIII.260^{ce}: ἵππους θ' ἡμιόνους τε βοῶν τ' ἴφθιμα κάρηνα — listing horses, mules, and cattle among prizes set by Achilleus
2. κεφαλάς = heads in XI.55: πολλὰς ἰφθίμους κεφαλὰς Ἄϊδι προϊάψειν — of Zeus preparing for great battle of XI-XVIII; cf. 5 below
3. κρατί = head in
   (a) III.336: κρατὶ δ' ἐπ' ἰφθίμωι κυνέην εὔτυκτον ἔθηκεν — as Alexandros arms for combat with Menelaos
   (b) XV.480 = III.336: of Teukros laying aside bow and arming to fight beside Aias
   (c) XVI.137 = III.336: of Patroklos putting on armor of Achilleus
   (d) 22.123 = III.336: of Odysseus arming when his arrows are gone
4. ποταμῶν = rivers in XVII.749: ὅς τε καὶ ἰφθίμων ποταμῶν ἀλεγεινὰ ῥέεθρα — in simile, of wooded ridge in plain resisting flood waters
5. ψυχάς = lives in I.3: πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν — in proem, of heroes who died because of Achilleus' wrath
6. ὤμοις = shoulders in XVIII.204: ὤμοις ἰφθίμοισι βάλ' αἰγίδα θυσσανόεσσαν — of Achilleus at trench, as Athena puts aigis around him

In the Iliad:	13	different men (or groups of men)
	16	instances
	2	different women
	2	instances
	15	different persons (or groups of persons)
	18	instances
	1	instance of indefinite use
	6	different nouns not denoting persons (but three of them different nouns for "head")
	8	instances
In the Odyssey:	8	different men (or groups of men)
	10	instances
	5	different women
	6	instances
	13	different persons

	16	instances
	1	noun not denoting person (same as one in Iliad)
	1	instance
Totals:	21	different men (or groups of men)
	7	different women
	28	different persons (or groups of persons)
	26	instances of men
	8	instances of women
	34	instances of persons (or groups of persons)
	6	different nouns not denoting persons
	10	instances
Total instances:	Iliad:	27
	Odyssey:	17
		44

List 7, Chap. I, p. 25, n. 1, p. 26, n. 1

Characters in Homer called δαΐφρων

A. In the Iliad

a 1. Achilleus in

(a) II.875[c]: ἐν ποταμῶι, χρυσὸν δ' Ἀχιλεὺς ἐκόμισσε δαΐφρων — in Trojan catalogue, of Nastes, the Karian leader, whom Achilleus killed in the river

(b) X.402: ἵππων Αἰακίδαο δαΐφρονος· οἱ δ' ἀλεγεινοὶ — Odysseus telling Dolon that Achilleus' horses are hard for a mortal to manage

(c) XI.791: ταῦτ' εἴποις Ἀχιλῆϊ δαΐφρονι, αἴ κε πίθηται — Nestor, urging Patroklos to ask Achilleus to let him go into battle

(d) XI.839: ἔρχομαι, ὄφρ' Ἀχιλῆϊ δαΐφρονι μῦθον ἐνίσπω — Patroklos telling Eurypylos he is on his way to report to Achilleus

(e) XVII.76 = X.402: Apollo, as Mentes, telling Hektor to stop chasing Achilleus' horses

(f) XVII.654: ὄτρυνον δ' Ἀχιλῆϊ δαΐφρονι θᾶσσον ἰόντα — Aias telling Menelaos to send Antilochos to Achilleus with message that Patroklos is dead

(g) XVIII.30: ἔδραμον ἀμφ' Ἀχιλῆα δαΐφρονα, χερσὶ δὲ

πᾶσαι — captive women surround Achilleus and mourn Patroklos

2. Aias in

(a) XIV.459e: Αἴαντα δὲ μάλιστα δαΐφρονα θυμὸν ὄρινε — as Poulydamas angers him by vaunting over the death of Prothoenor

(b) XVII.123: ὣς ἔφατ', Αἴαντι δὲ δαΐφρονι θυμὸν ὄρινε — as Menelaos asks him to help rescue Patroklos' body

3. Aineias in XX.267-268: οὐδὲ τότ' Αἰνείαο δαΐφρονος ὄβριμον ἔγχος / ῥῆξε σάκος — as his spear fails to pierce Achilleus' divine shield

a 4. Antilochos in XIII.418e: 'Αντιλόχωι δὲ μάλιστα δαΐφρονι θυμὸν ὄρινεν — as Deïphobos angers him by vaunting over the death of Hypsenor

5. Antimachos in

(a) XI.123: υἱέας 'Αντιμάχοιο δαΐφρονος, ὅς ῥα μάλιστα — as Agamemnon catches the sons of Antimachos, a Trojan bribed by Paris

(b) XI.138e: εἰ μὲν δὴ 'Αντιμάχοιο δαΐφρονος υἱέες ἐστόν — Agamemnon refusing to spare the sons of Antimachos

6. Atreus in

(a) II.23: εὕδεις, 'Ατρέος υἱὲ δαΐφρονος ἱπποδάμοιο — as the Dream sent by Zeus first addresses Agamemnon

(b) II.60 = II.23: Agamemnon reporting his dream to the council

a 7. Bellerophontes in

(a) VI.161-162: . . . ἀλλὰ τὸν οὔ τι / πεῖθ' ἀγαθὰ φρονέοντα, δαΐφρονα Βελλεροφόντην — as Anteia fails to seduce him

(b) VI.196: ἡ δ' ἔτεκε τρία τέκνα δαΐφρονι Βελλεροφόντηι — as Glaukos begins to recite genealogy of immediate ancestors

8. Diomedes in

(a) V.181e: Τυδεΐδηι μιν ἔγωγε δαΐφρονι παντα ἐΐσκω — Pandaros speaking to Aineias

(b) V.184e: εἰ δ' ὅ γ' ἀνὴρ ὅν φημι, δαΐφρων Τυδέος υἱός — Pandaros telling Aineias that Diomedes must be being helped by a god

(c) V.277e: καρτερόθυμε, δαΐφρον, ἀγαυοῦ Τυδέος υἱέ — Pandaros addressing Diomedes

(d) XXIII.405e: Τυδεΐδεω ἵπποισι δαΐφρονος, οἷσιν 'Αθήνη — Antilochos urging his horses to pass those of Agamemnon,

not those of Diomedes, to whom Athena has given speed

9. Hippasos in XI.450[e]: ὦ Σῶχ', Ἱππάσου υἱὲ δαΐφρονος ἱπποδάμοιο — Odysseus vaunting over H's son Sokos whom he has killed
10. Idaios in XXIV.325: τὰς Ἰδαῖος ἔλαυνε δαΐφρων· αὐτὰρ ὄπισθεν — driver of the mule wagon which carries ransom for Hektor
11. Idomeneus in IV.252[e]: οἱ δ' ἀμφ' Ἰδομενῆα δαΐφρονα θωρήσσοντο — as Kretans around him arm for battle
12. Kebriones in XVI.727[e]: Κεβριόνῃ δ' ἐκέλευσε δαΐφρονι φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ — brother and charioteer of Hektor, as Hektor urges him to drive horses against Patroklos
13. Meriones in XIII.163-164[e]: . . . δεῖσε δὲ θυμῶι / ἔγχος Μηριόναο δαΐφρονος — as Deïphobos is frightened by M's spear

a 14. Odysseus in XI.482[e]: ὥς ῥα τότ' ἀμφ' Ὀδυσῆα δαΐφρονα ποικιλομήτην — as Trojans crowd around him

a 15. Pandaros in IV.93: ἦ ῥά νύ μοί τι πίθοιο, Λυκάονος υἱὲ δαΐφρον — Athena persuading him to break the truce by shooting an arrow at Menelaos

a 16. Peleus in XVIII.18: ὤ μοι, Πήλεος υἱὲ δαΐφρονος, ἦ μάλα λυγρῆς — Antilochos reporting Patroklos' death to Achilleus

17. Peneleos in XIV.487[e]: Πηνέλεωι δὲ μάλιστα δαΐφρονι θυμὸν ὄρινεν — leader of Boiotians, as Akamas angers him by vaunting over the death of Promachos
18. Phorkys in XVII.312[e]: Αἴας δ' αὖ Φόρκυνα, δαΐφρονα Φαίνοπος υἱόν — a Phrygian, as Aias kills him
19. Priamos in
    (a) IX.651: πρίν γ' υἱὸν Πριάμοιο δαΐφρονος, Ἕκτορα δῖον — Achilleus saying he will not fight until Hektor reaches the ships of the Myrmidons
    (b) XI.197: εὗρ' υἱὸν Πριάμοιο δαΐφρονος Ἕκτορα δῖον — as Iris takes message from Zeus to Hektor
    (c) XV.239 = XI.197: as Apollo comes to revive Hektor after he has been stunned by Aias
20. Sokos in XI.456[e]: ὣς εἰπὼν Σώκοιο δαΐφρονος ὄβριμον ἔγχος — as Odysseus pulls out the spear with which S has wounded him; cf. 9 above
21. Tydeus in
    IV.370[e]: ὤ μοι, Τυδέος υἱὲ δαΐφρονος ἱπποδάμοιο — Agamemnon accusing Diomedes of hanging back from battle

(b) V.812-813: . . . οὐ σύ γ' ἔπειτα / Τυδέος ἔκγονός ἐσσι δαΐφρονος Οἰνεΐδαο — Athena telling Diomedes that if he is afraid, he is not the son of Tydeus

(c) VIII.152: ὤ μοι, Τυδέος υἱὲ δαΐφρονος, οἷον ἔειπες — Nestor reassuring Diomedes that Hektor will never call him a coward

B. In the Odyssey

a 1. Alkinoos in

(a) 6.255-256: . . . ὄφρα σε πέμψω / πατρὸς ἐμοῦ πρὸς δῶμα δαΐφρονος — Nausikaa telling Odysseus that she will take him to her father's house

(b) 8.8: εἰδομένη κήρυκι δαΐφρονος 'Αλκινόοιο — as Athena assumes the shape of Alkinoos' herald

(c) 8.13: ὅς νέον 'Αλκινόοιο δαΐφρονος ἵκετο δῶμα — Athena, as herald, summoning the Phaiakians to an assembly to hear about the stranger (Odysseus) who has just arrived at Alkinoos' house

2. Anchialos in 1.180: Μέντης 'Αγχιάλοιο δαΐφρονος εὔχομαι εἶναι — Athena, as Taphian stranger, telling Telemachos who she is

3. Antikleia in 15.356: κουριδίης τ' ἀλόχοιο δαΐφρονος, ἥ ἑ μάλιστα — Eumaios telling the beggar that Odysseus' father, Laertes mourns for his absent son and his dead wife

a 4. Odysseus in

(a) 1.48: ἀλλά μοι ἀμφ' 'Οδυσῆϊ δαΐφρονι δαίεται ἦτορ — Athena in council of gods saying she grieves for Odysseus

(b) 3.163: ἀμφ' 'Οδυσῆα ἄνακτα δαΐφρονα ποικιλομήτην — Nestor telling Telemachos how some of the Greeks, after the fall of Troy, followed Odysseus back to Agamemnon, while others pressed on home

(c) 7.168: χειρὸς ἑλὼν 'Οδυσῆα δαΐφρονα ποικιλομήτην — as Alkinoos raises Odysseus from his suppliant's position

(d) 8.17-18: . . . πολλοὶ δ' ἄρα θηήσαντο ἰδόντες / υἱὸν Λαέρταο δαΐφρονα — as the Phaiakians are amazed, seeing Odysseus in the assembly; see 1 c above

(e) 21.223: κλαῖον ἄρ' ἀμφ' 'Οδυσῆϊ δαΐφρονι χεῖρε βαλόντε — as Eumaios and the cowherd recognize Odysseus

(f) 21.379: ἐν χείρεσσ' 'Οδυσῆϊ δαΐφρονι θῆκε παραστάς — as Eumaios gives the beggar Odysseus' bow

(g) 22.115: ἔσταν δ' ἀμφ' Ὀδυσῆα δαΐφρονα ποικιλομήτην — as the servants rally around Odysseus for the battle with the suitors

(h) 22.202: βήτην εἰς Ὀδυσῆα δαΐφρονα ποικιλομήτην — as Eumaios and Philoitios rejoin Odysseus in the battle against the suitors, after they have tied up the wicked goatherd Melanthios

(i) 22.281: τοὶ δ' αὖτ' ἀμφ' Ὀδυσῆα δαΐφρονα ποικιλομήτην — of the servants beside Odysseus in the battle with the suitors

5. Ortilochos in 21.15-16: . . . ξυμβλήτην ἀλλήλοιϊν / οἴκωι ἐν Ὀρτιλόχοιο δαΐφρονος — where Odysseus met Iphitos, who gave him the great bow
6. Polybos in 8.372-373: . . . σφαῖραν . . . / πορφυρέην, τήν σφιν Πόλυβος ποίησε δαΐφρων — Phaiakian, maker of the purple ball with which the sons of Alkinoos play
7. Polybos in 15.519: Εὐρύμαχον, Πολύβοιο δαΐφρονος ἀγλαὸν υἱόν — the father of Eurymachos; Telemachos telling Theoklymenos he can stay with E
8. Polybos in 22.243[c]: Πείσανδρός τε Πολυκτορίδης Πολυβός τε δαΐφρων — a suitor, in catalogue of the suitors who were best in valor [22.244]

a 9. Telemachos in 4.686-687: . . . βίοτον κατακείρετε πολλόν, / κτῆσιν Τηλεμάχοιο δαΐφρονος· — Penelope complaining to the herald about the suitors squandering T's estate

In the Iliad:	21 different characters	
	38 instances	
In the Odyssey:	9 different characters (1, Odysseus, same as in Iliad)	
	19 instances	
Totals:	29 different characters	
Total instances:	Iliad:	38
	Odyssey:	19
		57

List 8, Chap. II, p. 45, n. 1

Use of ἄλκιμος *in Homer*

A. Of characters in the Iliad, attributively

* 1. Aias in

* Aias is only proper name in either poem modified by ἄλκιμος

(a) XII.349[e]: ἀλλά περ οἶος ἴτω Τελαμώνιος ἄλκιμος Αἴας — as Menestheus tells Thoötes to summon help against a Lykian attack

(b) XII.362[e] = XII.349: as Thoötes delivers Menestheus' message; cf. XII.364 where huge (μέγας) Aias obeys

p 2. Automedon in XVII.429: ἦ μὰν Αὐτομέδων, Διώρεος ἄλκιμος υἱός — as he tries (unsuccessfully) to lash the horses of Achilleus into motion after Patroklos' death

p 3. Diomedes in VI.437[c]: ἠδ' ἀμφ' Ἀτρεΐδας καὶ Τυδέος ἄλκιμον υἱόν — in the list Andromache gives of Achaian leaders around whom the bravest (ἄριστοι) fought when trying to storm the wall of Troy

p 4. Meges in X.110[c]: ἠδ' Αἴαντα ταχὺν καὶ Φυλέος ἄλκιμον υἱόν — in list of chiefs that Nestor suggests awakening

a 5. Patroklos in

(a) XI.605: τὸν πρότερος προσέειπε Μενοιτίου ἄλκιμος υἱός — as he asks why Achilleus has summoned him,—the beginning of his doom (κακοῦ δ' ἄρα οἱ πέλεν ἀρχή) [XI.604]

(b) XI.814: τὸν δ' ἰδὼν ᾤκτειρε Μενοιτίου ἄλκιμος υἱός — as he meets and pities the wounded Eurypylos

(c) XI.837: τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε Μενοιτίου ἄλκιμος υἱός — as he replies to Eurypylos' request for help

(d) XII.1: ὣς ὁ μὲν ἐν κλισίῃσι Μενοιτίου ἄλκιμος υἱὸς — as he attends to Eurypylos' wound

(e) XVI.278: Τρῶες δ' ὡς εἴδοντο Μενοιτίου ἄλκιμον υἱόν — as the Trojans first see him in Achilleus' armor

(f) XVI.307[c]: ἡγεμόνων· πρῶτος δὲ Μενοιτίου ἄλκιμος υἱός — in list of combats around ships

(g) XVI.626[e]: ὣς φάτο, τὸν δ' ἐνένιπε Μενοιτίου ἄλκιμος υἱός — as he rebukes Meriones for talking instead of fighting

(h) XVI.665: δῶκε φέρειν ἑτάροισι Μενοιτίου ἄλκιμος υἱός — as he gives Sarpedon's armor to comrades to be carried back to ships cf. Menelaos

(i) XVI.827: ὣς πολέας πεφνόντα Μενοιτίου ἄλκιμον υἱόν — as Hektor kills him, who had killed many

(j) XVIII.12: ἦ μάλα δὴ τέθνηκε Μενοιτίου ἄλκιμος υἱός — as Achilleus, seeing the Achaian rout on the plain, guesses that Patroklos is dead

(k) XVIII.455: πολλὰ κακὰ ῥέξαντα Μενοιτίου ἄλκιμον υἱόν — as Thetis tells Hephaistos that the Achaians would have

stormed Troy if Apollo had not killed Patroklos, who had wrought havoc among the Trojans

(l) XIX.24: δείδω μή μοι τόφρα Μενοιτίου ἄλκιμον υἱόν — as Achilleus tells Thetis that he fears Patroklos' body will decompose while he is getting revenge

6. the Trojans in

(a) XI.483[e]: Τρῶες ἕπον πολλοί τε καὶ ἄλκιμοι, αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἥρως — as they surround the wounded Odysseus after he has killed Sokos

(b) XXI.586: ἐν γάρ οἱ πολέες τε καὶ ἄλκιμοι ἀνέρες εἱμέν — as Agenor taunts Achilleus for hoping (as Agenor thinks) to take Troy, when so many brave men defend it

B. Of characters in the Iliad and Odyssey, predicatively

1. Hektor tells Alexandros that no fair man could disparage his ability to fight, only his spirit and attitude:

    δαιμόνι', οὐκ ἄν τίς τοι ἀνήρ, ὃς ἐναίσιμος εἴη,
    ἔργον ἀτιμήσειε μάχης, ἐπεὶ ἄλκιμός ἐσσι·
    ἀλλὰ ἑκὼν μεθίεις τε καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλεις . . . [VI.521-523]

a 2. Menelaos stirs Antilochos to make an attack on a Trojan, since he is young, swift, and brave:

    'Αντίλοχ', οὔ τις σεῖο νεώτερος ἄλλος 'Αχαιῶν
    οὔτε ποσὶν θάσσων οὔτ' ἄλκιμος ὡς σὺ μάχεσθαι
    εἴ τινά που Τρώων ἐξάλμενος ἄνδρα βάλοισθα.
    [XV.569-571][e]

3. Odysseus describes Elpenor, the youngest of his comrades, neither very brave nor bright:

    'Ελπήνωρ δέ τις ἔσκε νεώτατος, οὔτε τι λίην
    ἄλκιμος ἐν πολέμωι οὔτε φρεσὶν ἧισιν ἀρηρώς [10.553]

4. Athena rebukes Odysseus for not fighting as bravely against the suitors as he did at Troy:

    πῶς δὴ νῦν, ὅτε σὸν γε δόμον καὶ κτήμαθ' ἱκάνεις,
    ἄντα μνηστήρων ὀλοφύρεαι ἄλκιμος εἶναι; [22.231-232]

    cf. 22.226: οὐκέτι σοί γ', 'Οδυσεῦ, μένος ἔμπεδον οὐδέ τις ἀλκή and 22.237: ἀλλ' ἔτ' ἄρα σθένεός τε καὶ ἀλκῆς πειρήτιζεν.

5. Athena encourages Telemachos to emulate Orestes' revenge and win fame, since he is tall and handsome:

    καὶ σύ, φίλος, μάλα γάρ σ' ὁρόω καλόν τε μέγαν τε
    ἄλκιμος ἔσσ', ἵνα τίς σε καὶ ὀψιγόνων ἐὖ εἴπηι
    [1.301-302]

6. Nestor does the same:
   3.199-200 = 1.301-302

C. Indefinitely, of a brave man, in the Iliad and Odyssey

1. Idomeneus describes to Meriones how one distinguishes a brave man from a coward in an ambush (the coward changes color, fidgets, trembles, and chatters his teeth; the brave man sits still and prays to fight as soon as possible):

   εἰ γὰρ νῦν παρὰ νηυσὶ λεγοίμεθα πάντες ἄριστοι
   ἐς λόχον, ἔνθα μάλιστ' ἀρετὴ διαείδεται ἀνδρῶν,
   ἔνθ' ὅ τε δειλὸς ἀνὴρ ὅς τ' ἄλκιμος ἐξεφαάνθη.
   [XIII.276-278]

   cf. XIII.279 and 284 where κακός and ἀγαθός are used as synonyms for δειλός and ἄλκιμος respectively.
2. the poet describes how the mind of Zeus is stronger than men, for he can either give spirit (as to Patroklos) or make even the brave man flee:

   ἀλλ' αἰεί τε Διὸς κρείσσων νόος ἠέ περ ἀνδρῶν·
   ὅς τε καὶ ἄλκιμον ἄνδρα φοβεῖ καὶ ἀφείλετο νίκην
   ῥηϊδίως, ὅτε δ' αὐτὸς ἐποτρύνῃσι μάχεσθαι [XVI.688-690]
3. Hektor uses almost the same lines in replying to Glaukos, who has charged him with cowardice for withdrawing when Aias came up to protect Patroklos' corpse:

   ἀλλ' αἰεί τε Διὸς κρείσσων νόος αἰγιόχοιο
   ὅς τε καὶ ἄλκιμον ἄνδρα φοβεῖ καὶ ἀφείλετο νίκην
   ῥηϊδίως, ὁτὲ δ' αὐτὸς ἐποτρύνει μαχέσασθαι
   [XVII.176-178]
4. Melanthios objects to the suitor Agelaos' suggestion of sending for help via the postern door in Odysseus' palace because the door is so narrow that one brave man can defend it successfully:

   οὔ πως ἔστ', Ἀγέλαε διοτρεφές· ἄγχι γὰρ αἰνῶς
   αὐλῆς καλὰ θύρετρα καὶ ἀργαλέον στόμα λαύρης·
   καί χ' εἷς πάντας ἐρύκοι ἀνήρ, ὅς τ' ἄλκιμος εἴη.
   [22.136-138]

D. With nouns not denoting persons, in the Iliad and Odyssey

1. ἔγχος in
   (a) III.338: εἵλετο δ' ἄλκιμον ἔγχος, ὅ οἱ παλάμηφιν ἀρήρει — as Alexandros arms for the duel with Menelaos

(b) 17.4 = III.338: as Telemachos leaves Eumaios' hut to go to Ithaka

(c) X.135: εἵλετο δ' ἄλκιμον ἔγχος, ἀκαχμένον ὀξέϊ χαλκῶι — as Nestor sets out to waken the Achaian chiefs

(d) XIV.12 = X.135: as Nestor leaves his tent to watch the battle

(e) XV.482[e] = X.135: as Teukros puts aside his bow and dons regular armor

(f) 1.99 = X.135: as Athena leaves Olympos to go to Ithaka

(g) 15.551 = X.135: as Telemachos leaves his ship to go to Eumaios' hut

(h) 20.127 = X.135: as Telemachos rises and leaves the palace on the day of Odysseus' revenge on the suitors

(i) 21.34[e]: τῶι δ' Ὀδυσεὺς ξίφος ὀξὺ καὶ ἄλκιμον ἔγχος ἔδωκεν — in digression explaining how Odysseus was given his great bow by Iphitos, to whom he gave a sword and spear

(j) 22.25: οὐ δέ που ἀσπὶς ἔην οὐδ' ἄλκιμον ἔγχος ἑλέσθαι — as the suitors look for weapons after Odysseus has killed Antinoos

2. δοῦρε in 22.125: εἵλετο δ' ἄλκιμα δοῦρε δύω κεκορυθμένα χαλκῶι — as Odysseus arms, having used all his arrows

3. ἦτορ in

(a) V.529[e]: ὦ φίλοι, ἀνέρες ἔστε καὶ ἄλκιμον ἦτορ ἕλεσθε — as Agamemnon encourages the Achaian heroes

(b) XVI.209[e]: ἔνθα τις ἄλκιμον ἦτορ ἔχων Τρώεσσι μαχέσθω — as Achilleus encourages the Myrmidons going to battle with Patroklos

(c) XVI.264[e]: κινήσηι ἀέκων, οἱ δ' ἄλκιμον ἦτορ ἔχοντες — in simile about wasps stirred up by boys and traveller

(d) XVII.111[e]: ἔγχεσι καὶ φωνῆι τοῦ δ' ἐν φρεσὶν ἄλκιμον ἦτορ — in simile about lion driven off by men and dogs with spears and shouts

(e) XX.169[e]: γίγνεται, ἐν δέ τε οἱ κραδίηι στένει ἄλκιμον ἦτορ — in simile about wounded lion

(f) XXI.571-572: ὣς εἰπὼν Ἀχιλῆα ἀλεὶς μένεν, ἐν δέ οἱ ἦτορ / ἄλκιμον ὁρμᾶτο πτολεμίζειν ἠδὲ μάχεσθαι — as Agenor awaits Achilleus' attack

In the Iliad:		used attributively of 6 different persons (or groups of persons)
	19	instances

used predicatively of 2 different persons
2 instances

3 instances of indefinite use

2 different nouns not denoting person
10 instances

In the Odyssey: never used attributively of a person

used predicatively of 3 different persons
4 instances

1 instance of indefinite use

2 different nouns not denoting person, but both denoting "spear" and 1 the same as in Iliad
7 instances

Totals: attributively of 6 different persons (or groups of persons) Iliad only
19 instances

predicately of 5 different persons
6 instances

4 instances of indefinite use

3 different nouns not denoting persons
17 instances

Total instances: Iliad: 34
Odyssey: 12
46

List 9, Chap. II, p. 51, n. 3

Use of ἀγλαός in Homer

A. Of persons in the Iliad

1. Alexandros in XI.385[e]: τοξότα, λωβητήρ, κέραι ἀγλαέ, παρθενοπῖπα — addressed derisively by Diomedes after he (A.) has grazed him (D.) with an arrow

a 2. Antilochos in
(a) X.196: τοῖς δ' ἅμα Μεριόνης καὶ Νέστορος ἀγλαὸς υἱός — the son of Nestor, as he and Meriones accompany older chiefs to night council
(b) XXIII.302[ce]: Νέστορος ἀγλαὸς υἱὸς ὑπερθύμοιο ἄνακτος — in list of those who harness their horses for the chariot race

3. Eudoros in XVI.185^{c}-186: Ἑρμείας ἀκάκητα, πόρεν δέ οἱ ἀγλαὸν υἱὸν / Εὔδωρον — son of Hermes and καλή Polymele, in Myrmidon catalogue
4. Eurypylos in
(a) II.736^{c}: τῶν ἦρχ' Εὐρύπυλος Εὐαίμονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός — son of Euaimon, in catalogue of ships
(b) V.79^{e}: τὸν μὲν ἄρ' Εὐρύπυλος, Εὐαίμονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός — as he kills Hypsenor
(c) VII.167^{c}: τοῖσι δ' ἐπ' Εὐρύπολος, Εὐαίμονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός — in list of those who rise to face Hektor in duel
(d) VIII.265^{c} = VII.167: in list of those who follow Diomedes in attack on Trojans
(e) XI.575^{e}: τὸν δ' ὡς οὖν ἐνόησ' Εὐαίμονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός — as he sees Aias surrounded by Trojans
5. Kleitos in XV.445^{e}: καὶ ῥ' ἔβαλε Κλεῖτον, Πεισήνορος ἀγλαὸν υἱόν — son of Peisenor, comrade of Poulydamas, as he is killed by Teukros
6. Laodamas in XV.517^{ce}: ἡγεμόνα προλέων, Ἀντήνορος ἀγλαὸν υἱόν — son of Antenor, as he is killed by Aias in list of both Greek and Trojan victims
7. Nastes and Amphimachos in II.871^{c}: Νάστης Ἀμφιμαχός τε, Νομίονος ἀγλαὰ τέκνα — sons of Nomion; in Trojan catalogue

a 8. Pandaros in
(a) II.826^{c}: Τρῶες, τῶν αὖτ' ἦρχε Λυκάονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός — son of Lykaon, in Trojan catalogue
(b) V.95: τὸν δ' ὡς οὖν ἐνόησε Λυκάονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός — as he sees Diomedes and wounds him with an arrow
(c) V.101: τῶι δ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἄϋσε Λυκάονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός — as he encourages Trojans after he sees Diomedes' blood
(d) V.179: τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε Λυκάονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός — as he answers Aineias' reproach
(e) V.229 = V.179: as he accepts Aineias' invitation to mount into A's chariot
(f) V.276: τὸν πρότερος προσέειπε Λυκάονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός — as he calls out to Diomedes, just before throwing spear at him
(g) V.283 = V.101: as he shouts triumphantly, thinking that he has wounded Diomedes

9. Periphas in V.843^{e}: Αἰτωλῶν ὄχ' ἄριστον, Ὀρχησίου ἀγλαὸν

υἱόν — Aitolian, son of Periphas, as Ares is stripping his armor

10. Sthenelos in V.241: τοὺς δ' ἴδε Σθένελος, Καπανήϊος ἀγλαὸς υἱός — son of Kapaneus, as he sees Aineias and Pandaros
11. τέκνα in
    (a) XVIII.337: Τρώων ἀγλαὰ τέκνα, σέθεν κταμένοιο χολωθείς — captive sons of Trojans, when Achilleus promises to immolate them on Patroklos' pyre
    (b) XXIII.23 = XVIII.337: the same, when Achilleus carries out his promise

B. Of persons in the Odyssey

1. Eurymachos in 15.519: Εὐρύμαχον, Πολύβοιο δαΐφρονος ἀγλαὸν υἱόν — son of Polybos, as Telemachos tells Theoklymenos that he might go to E's house
2. Memnon in 4.188: τόν ῥ' Ἠοῦς ἔκτεινε φαεινῆς ἀγλαὸς υἱός — son of Dawn, who slew Antilochos
3. Minos in 11.568^{c}: ἔνθ' ἦ τοι Μίνωα ἴδον, Διὸς ἀγλαὸν υἱόν — son of Zeus, in list of heroes whom Odysseus sees in Hades

a 4. Neleus and Pelias in 11.249^{e}-250: τέξεις ἀγλαὰ τέκνα, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀποφώλιοι εὐναὶ / ἀθανάτων — in catalogue of fair women; Poseidon telling Tyro that she will bear him sons (named in 11.254)

5. Nestor, etc. in 11.285^{ce}: ἡ δὲ Πύλου βασίλευε, τέκεν δέ οἱ ἀγλαὰ τέκνα — in catalogue of fair women, in list of children whom Chloris bore to Neleus: Nestor, Chromios, and Periklymenos named in 11.286, Pero added in 11.287
6. Peistratos in
    (a) 4.21: Τηλέμαχός θ' ἥρως καὶ Νέστορος ἀγλαὸς υἱός — son of Nestor, as he and Telemachos arrive at Menelaos' palace
    (b) 4.303 = 4.21: as he and Telemachos sleep in the portico of Menelaos' palace
    (c) 15.4: εὗρε δὲ Τηλέμαχον καὶ Νέστορος ἀγλαὸν υἱὸν — as Athena comes in the night to tell Telemachos to go home
    (d) 15.144: δὴ τότε Τηλέμαχος καὶ Νέστορος ἀγλαὸς υἱός — as he and Telemachos yoke their horses to depart
7. Philoktetes in 3.190^{c}: εὖ δὲ Φιλοκτήτην, Ποιάντιον ἀγλαὸν υἱόν — son of Poias, in list of Achaians who got safely home from Troy, recited by Nestor to Telemachos
8. τέκνα in 14.223^{e}: οὐδ' οἰκωφελίη, ἥ τε τρέφει ἀγλαὰ τέκνα —

indefinite; Odysseus in false tale, saying that he never cared for work or domesticity

C. With nouns not denoting persons in the Iliad

1. ἄεθλα in XXIII.262: ἱππεῦσιν μὲν πρῶτα ποδώκεσιν ἀγλά' ἄεθλα — of prizes for chariot race, consisting of woman and tripod, pregnant mare, cauldron, two talents of god, and jar XXIII.263-268
2. ἄλσος in II.506[c]: 'Ογχηστόν θ' ἱερόν, Ποσιδήϊον ἀγλαὸν ἄλσος — of grove of Poseidon at Onchestos, in catalogue of ships
3. ἄποινα in
   (a) I.23: αἰδεῖσθαί θ' ἱερῆα καὶ ἀγλαὰ δέχθαι ἄποινα — of ransom Chryses offers for Chryseis, when he brings it
   (b) I.111: οὕνεκ' ἐγὼ κούρης Χρυσηΐδος ἀγλά' ἄποινα — the same, when Agamemnon mentions it to Kalchas
   (c) I.377 = I.23: the same, when Achilleus tells Thetis about Chryses' visit
4. γυῖα in XIX.385: εἴ οἱ ἐφαρμόσσεις καὶ ἐντρέχοι ἀγλαὰ γυῖα — as Achilleus experiments with the fit and movement of the new armor made by Hephaistos; cf. Bacchylides; XVI.103-105: ἀπὸ γὰρ ἀγλα/ῶν λάμπε γυίων σέλας / ὥτεπυρός
5. δῶρα in
   (a) I.213: καὶ ποτέ τοι τρὶς τόσσα παρέσσεται ἀγλαὰ δῶρα — of gifts Athena tells Achilleus he will get in recompense for Agamemnon's insult
   (b) IV.97: τοῦ κεν δὴ πάμπρωτα παρ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα φέροιο — of gifts Athena tells Pandaros he will get from Alexandros if he kills Menelaos
   (c) XI.124[e]: χρυσὸν 'Αλεξάνδροιο δεδεγμένος, ἀγλαὰ δῶρα — of gifts (gold), that Antimachos had received from Alexandros as a bribe for opposing the return of Helen
   (d) XVI.86: ἂψ ἀπονάσσωσιν, ποτὶ δ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα πόρωσιν — of gifts that Achilleus expects to get from the Greeks, in his last speech to Patroklos
   (e) XVI.380-381: . . . ἵπποι / ἄμβροτοι, οὓς Πηλῆϊ θεοὶ δόσαν ἀγλαὰ δῶρα — of Achilleus' immortal horses, gifts of the gods, as they carry Patroklos against Hektor
   (f) XVI.867 = XVI.381: the same, as they carry Automedon away from Hektor after Patroklos' death

(g) XVIII.84: (82) τεύχεα . . . / καλά· τὰ μὲν Πηλῆϊ θεοὶ δόσαν ἀγλαὰ δῶρα — of Achilleus' original arms, given to Peleus as wedding present by gods when he married Thetis

(h) XIX.18: τέρπετο δ' ἐν χείρεσσιν ἔχων θεοῦ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα — of Achilleus' new armor, made by Hephaistos (cf. No 4 above); described as μαρμαίροντα in XVIII.617; cf. XIX.374ff. where its brightness is stressed

(i) XXIV.277-278: ἡμιόνους . . . / τούς ῥά ποτε Πριάμωι Μυσοὶ δόσαν ἀγλαὰ δῶρα — of mules, given to Priam by Mysians

(j) XXIV.447: ἐς δ' ἄγαγε Πρίαμόν τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρ' ἐπ' ἀπήνης — of ransom for Hektor's body, as Priam enters Achaian camp, consisting of various robes, talents of gold, tripods, cauldrons, and a goblet [XXIV.229-237]

(k) XXIV.534[e]: ὣς μὲν καὶ Πηλῆϊ θεοὶ δόσαν ἀγλαὰ δῶρα — in Achilleus' speech about jars of good and evil of (non-physical) gifts given by gods to Peleus, namely wealth (ὄλβωι and πλούτωι), kingship of the Myrmidons, an immortal wife [XXIV.535-537]

6. εὖχος in VII.203: δὸς νίκην Αἴαντι καὶ ἀγλαὸν εὖχος ἀρέσθαι — in prayers of Achaians, after Aias has said that he thinks he can defeat Hektor in duel [VII.192]

7. ὕδωρ in

(a) II.307: καλῇ ὑπὸ πλατανίστωι, ὅθεν ῥέεν ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ — of spring under plane tree, at Aulis, where omen of snake and birds appeared when Achaians were sacrificing

(b) XXI.345: πᾶν δ' ἐξηράνθη πεδίον, σχέτο δ' ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ — of the river Skamandros-Xanthos, when Hera sends Hephaistos to scorch it and save Achilleus from drowning

D. *With nouns not denoting persons in the Odyssey*

1. ἄλσος in 6.291: δήεις ἀγλαὸν ἄλσος Ἀθήνης ἄγχι κελεύθου — of the grove of Athena in Scheria, which Nausikaa tells Odysseus he will find near the road into the city

2. δῶρα in

(a) 4.589: καὶ τότε σ' εὖ πέμψω, δώσω δέ τοι ἀγλαὰ δῶρα — of gifts that Menelaos offers Telemachos, consisting of three horses, a polished chariot, and a beautiful chalice [4.590-591]

(b) 7.132: τοῖ' ἄρ' ἐν Ἀλκινόοιο θεῶν ἔσαν ἀγλαὰ δῶρα — of Alkinoos' bright and lavishly decorated palace [7.82-102],

his servants [7.103-112], and his gardens [7.113-131]

(c) 9.201: Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος· ὁ δέ μοι πόρεν ἀγλαὰ δῶρα — of gifts that Evanthes, Kikonian priest of Apollo, gave to Odysseus, consisting of talents of gold, a silver mixing bowl, and jars of a special wine [9.202-207]

(d) 11.357: πομπήν τ' ὀτρύνοι τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα διδοῖτε — of gifts that Alkinoos might give Odysseus if he stayed a year

(e) 16.230: κάτθεσαν εἰς Ἰθάκην, ἔπορον δέ μοι ἀγλαὰ δῶρα — of gifts that Odysseus tells Telemachos the Phaiakians gave him, consisting of bronze, gold, and clothing 16.231

(f) 18.279: κούρης δαῖτα φίλοισι, καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα διδοῦσιν — of gifts that Penelope says suitors should offer to woman they woo; they take the hint and give her a beautiful embroidered robe (περικαλλέα πέπλον,/ποικίλον), golden brooches, and intricate (πολυδαίδαλον) gold and amber necklace (ἠέλιον ὥς), sparkling earrings (χάρις δ' ἀπελάμπετο πολλή) and another necklace, a beautiful ornament (περικαλλὲς ἄγαλμα) [18.292-300]

(g) 19.413: τῶν ἕνεκ' ἦλθ' Ὀδυσεύς, ἵνα οἱ πόροι ἀγλαὰ δῶρα — of the gifts which Autolykos had promised to give Odysseus, when he was born, for which he goes to Parnassos when he is grown

(h) 19.460: εὖ ἰησάμενοι ἠδ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα πορόντες — the same, when they are given, after the wound which Odysseus got on the boar hunt is healed

(i) 24.314[e]: μίξεσθαι ξενίῃι ἠδ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα διδώσειν — of the gifts that Odysseus, in false tale to Laertes, claims that he (supposedly Epeiritos from Alybas) and Odysseus hoped to exchange

3. ἔργα in

(a) 10.222-223: ἱστὸν ἐποιχομένης μέγαν ἄμβροτον, οἷα θεάων / λεπτά τε καὶ χαρίεντα καὶ ἀγλαὰ ἔργα πέλονται — of the cloth Kirke weaves

(b) 13.289: καλῆι τε μεγάλῃι τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ ἔργα ἰδυίῃι — describing the woman whose appearance Athena assumes when she reveals herself to Odysseus on Ithaka

(c) 15.418[e]: καλή τε μεγάλη τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ ἔργα ἰδυῖα — Eumaios describing his Phoinikian nurse, who kidnapped him as a child

(e) 16.158 = 13.289: describing the woman whose appearance Athena assumes when she summons him from Eumaios' hut to remove his disguise so that he can reveal himself to Telemachos

4. ἱστόν in

(a) 2.109: καὶ τήν γ' ἀλλύουσαν ἐφεύρομεν ἀγλαὸν ἱστόν — of the loom at which the suitors found Penelope unweaving the shroud she wove by day, as Antinoos tells the story in the Ithakan assembly

(b) 24.145 = 2.109: the same, as the ghost of Amphimedon tells the story to Agamemnon in the second Nekuia; in 24.148 the shroud, when Penelope was forced to finish it, was πλύνασ', ἠελίωι ἐναλίγκιον ἠὲ σελήνηι; cf. No. 3 above

5. ὕδωρ in

(a) 3.429: ἕδρας τε ξύλα τ' ἀμφὶ καὶ ἀγλαὸν οἰσέμεν ὕδωρ — of water, among items Nestor bids his sons to fetch in preparation for a feast and sacrifice

(b) 9.140: αὐτὰρ ἐπὶ κρατὸς λιμένος ῥέει ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ — of a spring, at the foot of a cave, amid poplars, on the island off the Kyklops' coast

E. Words derived from ἀγλαός in Iliad and Odyssey

1. Aglaies in II.672[c]: Νιρεὺς Ἀγλαΐης υἱὸς Χαρόποιό τ' ἄνακτος — Proper name, father of Nireus, the κάλλιστος man in Achaian army next to Achilleus; cf. p. 67

2. ἀγλαιεῖσθαι in X.330-331: μὴ . . . ἄλλος / Τρώων, ἀλλά σέ φημι διάμπερες ἀγλαιεῖσθαι — as Hektor promises Dolon that no one except him will enjoy (be glorified) by the immortal horses of Achilleus, if he undertakes the night spying expedition

3. ἀγλαΐηφι in

(a) VI.509-510[e]: κυδιόων· ὑψοῦ δὲ κάρη ἔχει· / . . . ὁ δ' ἀγλαΐηφι πεποιθώς in simile of stall-fed horse, used of Alexandros

(b) XV.267 = VI.510: the same, used of Hektor

4. ἀγλαΐη in

(a) 15.78: ἀμφότερον κῦδός τε καὶ ἀγλαΐη καὶ ὄνειαρ — Menelaos, on the benefits of eating before setting out on a journey

(b) 17.244: τῶι κέ τοι ἀγλαΐας γε διασκεδάσειεν ἁπάσας —

Eumaios speaking of what would happen to the goatherd Melanthios' if Odysseus has come, after Melanthios has kicked at and insulted the beggar

(c) 17.309-310: τραπεζῆες κυνες . . . / γίγνοντ', ἀγλαΐης δ' ἕνεκεν κομέουσιν ἀνάκτες — Odysseus, speaking of house dogs which masters keep around their tables, as opposed to hunting dogs who have speed as well as beauty

(d) 18.180-181: ἀγλαΐην γὰρ ἐμοί γε θεοί, τοὶ Ὄλυμπον ἔχουσιν / ὤλεσαν — Penelope speaking of the beauty she lost when Odysseus went to Troy

(e) 19.81-82: . . . ὀλέσσῃς / ἀγλαΐην, τῆι νῦν γε μετὰ δμωιῇισιν κέκασσαι — Odysseus threatening the insolent maid Melantho with the loss of her beauty (or perhaps her pride; cf. No. 4 b above) if Penelope should punish her or Odysseus return, after she has been rude to him because, as he says, of his ugly clothes and poverty

In the Iliad:	10	different persons or groups of persons (1 unnamed)
	23	instances
	7	different nouns not denoting persons
	20	instances
In the Odyssey:	8	different persons or groups of persons (1 indefinite in gnomic statement)
	11	instances
	5	different nouns not denoting persons (3 same as in Iliad)
	18	instances
Totals:	18	different persons or groups of persons
	34	instances
	9	different nouns not denoting persons
	38	instances

Total instances:	Iliad:	43
	Odyssey:	29
		72

List 10 Ch. III, p. 64, n. 1

Comparisons of mortals to gods

A. εἰκυῖα θεῇισι(ν)

1. VIII.305[e]: καλὴ Καστιάνειρα δέμας εἰκυῖα θεῇισι — of Kastianeira, mother of ἀμύμων Gorgythion
2. XI.638-639: ἐν τῶι ῥά σφι κύκησε γυνὴ εἰκυῖα θεῇισιν / οἴνωι Πραμνείωι — of Hekamede, Nestor's concubine, as she prepares drink for him and Patroklos
3. XIX.286: εἶπε δ' ἄρα κλαίουσα γυνὴ εἰκυῖα θεῇισι — of Briseis, as she laments over Patroklos' body; cf. E. No 2 below

a 4. 7.290-291: . . . τεῆς ἐνόησα θυγατρὸς / παιζούσας, ἐν δ' αὐτὴ ἔην εἰκυῖα θεῇισι — of Nausikaa, as Odysseus tells Alkinoos how they met

B. ἐναλίγκιος θεῶι, θεοῖς, ἀθανάτοις *

1. XIX.249-250: . . . ἂν δ' Ἀγαμέμνων / ἵστατο· Ταλθύβιος δὲ θεῶι ἐναλίγκιος αὐδὴν — of Talthybios, the herald, as he holds boar for Agamemnon to sacrifice
2. 1.371: τοιοῦδ' οἷος ὅδ' ἐστί, θεοῖς ἐναλίγκιον αὐδήν — of Phemios, the bard at Ithaka

a 3. 2.5: βῆ δ' ἴμεν ἐκ θαλάμοιο θεῶι ἐναλίγκιος ἄντην — of Telemachos, as he leaves his chamber to go to assembly

a 4. 4.310 = 2.5: of Menelaos, as he arises the morning after Telemachos' arrival

a 5. 7.4-5: . . . κασίγνητοι δέ μιν ἀμφὶς / ἵσταντ' ἀθανάτοις ἐναλίγκιοι, οἵ ῥ' ὑπ' ἀπήνης — of Nausikaa's brothers, as they unloose her wagon from the mules

6. 9.4 = 1.371: of Demodokos, the Phaiakian bard

a 7. 13.89: ἄνδρα φέρουσα θεοῖς ἐναλίγκια μήδε' ἔχοντα — of Odysseus, as the Phaiakian ship carries him home in his sleep +

a 8. 19.267: ἢ Ὀδυσῆ', ὅν φασι θεοῖς ἐναλίγκιον εἶναι — of Odysseus, by Odysseus in disguise, to Penelope

9. 24.370-371: ἐκ δ' ἀσαμίνθου βῆ· θαύμαζε δέ μιν φίλος υἱός / ὡς

* Cf. 8.174: ἄλλος δ' αὖ εἶδος μὲν ἀλίγκιος ἀθανάτοισιν—Odysseus, to Euryalos, about different gifts that gods give men and VI.401: 'Ἑκτορίδην ἀγαπητόν, ἀλίγκιον ἀστέρι καλῶι—of Astyanax, Hektor's baby son.

\+ Only passage where comparison to gods involves non-physical attribute.

ἴδεν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖς ἐναλίγκιον ἄντην — of Laertes, as Odysseus admires him after a bath; cf. D. 2 and 5

C. ἐπιείκελος ἀθανάτοισι(ν)

1. I.265c: Θησέα τ' Αἰγεΐδην, ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισιν — of Theseus, in list of strongest men Nestor has known
2. IV.394e: Μαίων Αἱμονίδης, ἐπιείκελος ἀθανάτοισιν — of Maion, son of Haimon, leader of ambush that tried to kill Tydeus; in reminiscence of Agamemnon to Diomedes
3. XI.60c: ἠΐθεόν τ' Ἀκάμαντ', ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισιν — of Akamas, son of Antenor, in catalogue of Trojans around ἀμύμων Poulydamas
4. 15.413-414: . . . πατὴρ ἐμὸς ἐμβασίλευε / Κτήσιος Ὀρμενίδης, ἐπιείκελος ἀθανάτοισιν — of Ktesios, king of Syria, Eumaios' father
5. 21.14: Ἴφιτος Εὐρυτίδης, ἐπιείκελος ἀθανάτοισι —
6. 21.37-38: Ἴφιτον Εὐρυτίδην, ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισιν / ὅς οἱ τόξον ἔδωκε — both of Iphitos, son of Eurytos, who gave Odysseus the bow with which he kills suitors

D. ὁμοῖος —

1. XVII.51-52: αἵματί οἱ δεύοντο κόμαι Χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοῖαι / πλοχμοί θ' — of Euphorbos' hair, as Menelaos kills him

a 2. 3.468: ἐκ ῥ' ἀσαμίνθου βῆ δέμας ἀθανάτοισιν ὁμοῖος — of Telemachos, after bath at Pylos; cf. 5 below and B. 9 above

a 3. 6.15-16: κούρη / κοιμᾶτ' ἀθανάτῃσι φυὴν καὶ εἶδος ὁμοίη — of Nausikaa, asleep; cf. I. 3 below

a 4. 8.14: πόντον ἐπιπλαγχθείς, δέμας ἀθανάτοισιν ὁμοῖος — of Odysseus, as Athena, disguised as a herald, summons the Phaiakians to see him

a 5. 23.163: ἐκ δ' ἀσαμίνθου βῆ δέμας ἀθανάτοισιν ὁμοῖος — of Odysseus, after bath; cf. 2 above

E. ἴκελος —

1. II.478-479: ὄμματα καὶ κεφαλὴν ἴκελος Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ, / Ἄρεϊ δὲ ζώνην, στέρνον δὲ Ποσειδάωνι — of Agamemnon, as he marshals army
2. XIX.282: Βρισηῒς δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτ', ἰκέλη χρυσέῃ Ἀφροδίτῃ — of Briseis, as she first sees Patroklos' corpse; cf. A. 3 above

3. XXIV.699: ἀλλ' ἄρα Κασσάνδρη, ἰκέλη χρυσέηι 'Αφροδίτηι — of Kassandra, as she is the first to see Priamos returning with Hektor's body

a 4. 17.37: 'Αρτέμιδι ἰκέλη ἠὲ χρυσέηι 'Αφροδίτηι — of Penelope, as she greets Telemachos on his return

a 5. 19.54 = 17.37: of Penelope, as she enters the hall for her interview with the beggar

* *F*. ἶσος Ἄρηϊ ('Ενυαλίωι)

1. XI.295[e]: Ἕκτωρ Πριαμίδης, βροτολοιγῶι ἶσος Ἄρηϊ — of Hektor, as he leads Trojan attack

a 2. XI.603-604: . . . ὁ δὲ κλισίηθεν ἀκούσας / ἔκμολεν ἶσος Ἄρηϊ, κακοῦ δ' ἄρα οἱ πέλεν ἀρχή — of Patroklos, as he emerges from tent to ask what Achilleus wants

3. XII.130[e]: τὸν δὲ Λεοντῆα, βροτολοιγῶι ἶσον Ἄρηϊ — of Leonteus, a Lapith who defends a gate of the Achaian camp against Asios

4. XIII.802[e]-803: Ἕκτωρ δ' ἡγεῖτο, βροτολοιγῶι ἶσος 'Αρηϊ, / Πριαμίδης· — of Hektor, as he leads attack after Trojans have rallied around ἀμύμων Poulydamas

a 5. XX.45-46: ὅθ' ὁρῶντο ποδώκεα Πηλεΐωνα / τεύχεσι λαμπόμενον, βροτολοιγῶι ἶσον Ἄρηϊ — of Achilleus, as Trojans panic at his first re-entrance into battle

a 6. XXII.131-132: . . . ὁ δὲ οἱ σχεδὸν ἦλθεν 'Αχιλλεὺς / ἶσος 'Ενυαλίωι κορυθάϊκι πτολεμιστῆι — of Achilleus, as he approaches Hektor

7. 8.115-116[c]: ἂν δὲ καὶ Εὐρύαλος, βροτολοιγῶι ἶσος Ἄρηϊ / Ναυβολίδης, ὃς ἄριστος ἔην εἶδός τε δέμας τε — of Euryalos, in list of Phaiakian youths who take part in contest.

G. θεοείκελ', θεοείκελος

a 1. I.131-132: μὴ δὴ οὕτως, ἀγαθός περ ἐών, θεοείκελ' 'Αχιλλεῦ, / κλέπτε νόωι, ἐπεὶ οὐ παρελεύσεαι οὐδέ με πείσεις — of Achilleus addressed by Agamemnon in the quarrel

a 2. XIX.155-156: μὴ δὴ οὕτως ἀγαθός περ ἐών, θεοείκελ' 'Αχιλ-

* I have not included the instances (in the Iliad only) of δαίμονι ἶσος = like a god, because they all describe an action in battle, not the appearance of a character.

λεῦ, / νήστιας ὄτρυνε προτὶ Ἴλιον υἷας Ἀχαιῶν — of Achilleus, as Odysseus urges him to let the army eat before battle

a 3. 3.416c: πὰρ δ' ἄρα Τηλέμαχον θεοείκελον εἷσαν ἄγοντες — of Telemachos, at end of list of Nestor's sons

4. 4.276: καί τοι Δηΐφοβος θεοείκελος ἕσπετ' ἰούσηι — of Deiphobos, as Menelaos describes how he and Helen walked around testing the wooden horse

a 5. 8.256: ὣς ἔφατ' Ἀλκίνοος θεοείκελος, ὦρτο δὲ κῆρυξ — of Alkinoos, as he tells herald to summon Demodokos

H. θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' (*always addressed to Achilleus*)

1. IX.485: καί σε τοσοῦτον ἔθηκα, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ —
2. IX.494-495: . . . ἀλλὰ σὲ παῖδα, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ, / ποιεύμην — both as Phoinix reminds Achilleus how he took care of him as a child
3. XXII.279: ἤμβροτες, οὐδ' ἄρα πώ τι, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ — as Hektor addresses him before duel; see p. 61
4. XXIII.80: καὶ δὲ σοὶ αὐτῶι μοῖρα, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ — as the ghost of Patroklos, in Achilleus' dream, predicts his death
5. XXIV.486: μνῆσαι πατρὸς σοῖο, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ — as Priamos begins his supplication
6. 24.36: ὄλβιε Πηλέος υἱέ, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ — as the ghost of Agamemnon addresses him in second Nekyia

I. *Various verbal phrases*

1. III.158: αἰνῶς ἀθανάτηισι θεῆις εἰς ὦπα ἔοικεν — of Helen, as the elders on the walls of Troy see her approach

a 2. 4.14: Ἑρμιόνην, ἣ εἶδος ἔχε χρυσέης Ἀφροδίτης — of Hermione, Helen's daughter

3. 6.18: πὰρ δὲ δύ' ἀμφίπολοι, Χαρίτων ἄπο κάλλος ἔχουσαι — of Nausikaa's handmaids; cf. D. 3 above

a 4. 6.151-152: Ἀρτέμιδί σε ἐγώ γε, Διὸς κούρηι μεγάλοιο, / εἶδός τε μέγεθός τε φυήν τ' ἄγχιστα ἐΐσκω — of Nausikaa, in Odysseus' first speech to her

a 5. 6.243: νῦν δὲ θεοῖσιν ἔοικε, τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν — of Odysseus, as Nausikaa comments on his appearance after Athena has beautified him; cf. 7 below

a 6. 8.456-457: ἔκ ῥ' ἀσαμίνθου βὰς . . . / ἤιε· Ναυσικάα δὲ

θεῶν ἄπο κάλλος ἔχουσα — of Nausikaa, as Odysseus encounters her after his bath and says farewell

a 7. 16.200: νῦν δὲ θεοῖσιν ἔοικας, οἳ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσι — of Odysseus, as Telemachos comments on his appearance after Athena has removed the beggar's disguise; cf. 5 above

8. 20.70-71: Ἥρη δ' αὐτῇισιν περὶ πασέων δῶκε γυναικῶν / εἶδος καὶ πινυτήν, μῆκος δ' ἔπορ' Ἄρτεμις ἁγνή — of the daughters of Pandareos, in Penelope's prayer to Artemis

	A.	*B.*	*B*.*	*C.*	*D.*	*E.*	*F.*	*G.*	*H.*	*I.*
Iliad:	3	1	1	3	1	3	6	2	5	1
Odys.:	1	8	1	3	4	2	1	3	1	7
Both:	4	9	2	6	5	5	7	5	6	8

Total instances:	Iliad:	26
	Odyssey:	31
		57

Characters who are compared to gods:

Men	*No. of instances*
a 1. Achilleus: F. (2), G. (2), H. (6); Iliad (9), Odyssey (1)	10
2. Agamemnon: E.; Iliad — brother Menelaos ἀμύμων	1
3. Akamas: C.; Iliad — brother Agenor ἀμύμων	1
a 4. Alkinoos: G.; Odyssey — θεοειδής; children ἀμύμονες	1
5. Deïphobos: G.; Odyssey — θεοειδής, brother Gorgythion ἀμύμων	1
6. Demodokos: B.; Odyssey	1
7. Euphorbos: D.; Iliad	1
8. Euryalos: F.; Odyssey — Phaiakians in general ἀμύμονες	1
9. Hektor: F. (2); Iliad — brother Gorgythion ἀμύμων, Alexandros and father Priamos θεοειδής	2
10. Iphitos C. (2); Odyssey	2
11. Ktesios: C.; Odyssey	1
12. Laertes: B.; Odsyssey — son and grandson ἀμύμονες, etc.	1
13. Leonteus: F.; Iliad — ἀντίθεος	1
14. Maion: C.; Iliad	1
a 15. Menelaos: B.; Odyssey — ἰσόθεος	1
a 16. Nausikaa's brothers: B.; Odyssey — ἀντίθεος	1
a 17. Odysseus: B.(2), D.(2), I.(2); Odyssey — ἀντίθεος, son ἀμύμων etc.	6

a	18.	Patroklos: F.; Iliad — ἰσόθεος	1
	19.	Phemios: B.; Odyssey	1
	20.	Talthybios: B.; Iliad	1
a	21.	Telemachos: B., D., G.; Odyssey — ἰσοθέος, θεοειδής, father and mother ἀμύμων, etc.	3
	22.	Theseus: C.; Iliad	1
	23.	Indefinite: B.*; Odyssey	1
	24.	Astyanax: B.*; Iliad — mother ἀμύμων	1

		Women	*No. of instances*
	1.	Briseis: A., E.; Iliad	2
	2.	Hekamede: A.; Iliad	1
	3.	Helen: I.; Iliad — daughter Hermione ἀμύμων	1
a	4.	Hermione: I.; Odyssey	1
	5.	Kassandra: E.; Iliad — brothers ἀμύμων, θεοειδής, etc.	1
a	6.	Kastianeira: A.; Iliad — son Gorgythion ἀμύμων	1
a	7.	Nausikaa: A., D., I. (2); Odyssey — father and brothers ἀμύμονες, etc.	4
	8.	Nausikaa's maids: I.; Odyssey	1
a	9.	Penelope: E. (2); Odyssey — ἀντιθέη, son ἀμύμων, etc.	2
	10.	daughters of Pandareos: I.; Odyssey	1

In the Iliad:	11	different men (1 child)
	20	instances
	5	different women
	6	instances
In the Odyssey:	14	different men (1 same as in Iliad, 1 indefinite)
	22	instances
	5	different women
	9	instances
Totals:	24	men
	10	women
	34	persons
Total instances:	Iliad:	26
	Odyssey:	31
		57

APPENDIX III

Chap. II P. 58, n. 1, — p. 60, n. 1

List 1: διογενής
List 2: διοτρεφής
List 3: κλυτός, κλειτός
List 4: compounds of -κλυτός, -κλειτός, -κλεής + adverb: ἀγακλεής, ἀγακλυτός (-κλειτός), τηλεκλυτός (-κλειτός), εὐκλειής (εὐκλεής)
List 5: compounds of -κλυτός, κλειτός + preposition: πρόκλυτος, περικλυτός
List 6: compounds of -κλυτοσ-, -κλειτοσ- + a noun: δουρικλειτός, δουρικλυτός, ναυσικλειτός (-κλυτός), κλυτοτέχνης (κλυτοεργόν), κλυτόπωλος, κλυτότοξος

a = person also called ἀμύμων
e = episode in digression or in expanded catalogue.
ce = list within an episode in digression or expanded catalogue.
c = item in a regular catalogue.

List 1, Chap. II, p. 58, n. 3

Use of διογενής *in Homer*

d = persons also called διοτρεφής

A. Characters in the Iliad called διογενής

da 1. Achilleus in

(a) I.488-489: αὐτὰρ ὁ μήνιε νηυσὶ παρήμενος ὠκυπόροισι / διογενὴς Πηλῆος υἱός, πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς — after the ship returns from Chryse the poet describes how Achilleus remains apart from the army's activities

(b) XXI.17-19: αὐτὰρ ὁ διογενὴς δόρυ μὲν λίπεν αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ὄχθηι / κεκλιμένον μυρίκηισιν, ὁ δ' ἔσθορε δαίμονι ἶσος / φάσγανον οἶον ἔχων, κακὰ δὲ φρεσὶ μήδετο ἔργα — at the beginning of Achilleus fight with the river Xanthos-Skamandros

d 2. Agamemnon in IX.106-107: ἐξ ἔτι τοῦ ὅτε, διογενές, Βρισηΐδα κούρην / χωομένου Ἀχιλῆος ἔβης κλισίηθεν ἀπούρας — as Nestor tells Agamemnon what he has been thinking ever since Ag. took Briseis from Achilleus

3. Aias in

(a) IV.488-489[e]: τοῖον ἄρ' Ἀνθεμίδην Σιμοείσιον ἐξενάριξεν / Αἴας διογενής· — as he strips the armor of Simoeisios

(b) VII.234-235: Αἶαν διογενὲς Τελαμώνιε, κοίρανε λαῶν / μή τί μευ ἠΰτε παιδὸς ἀφαυροῦ πειρήτιζε as Hektor addresses him before hurling the first spear in their duel

(c) VII.248-249: . . . δεύτερος αὖτε / Αἴας διογενὴς προΐει δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος — as he in turn hurls a spear at Hektor

(d) IX.644-645: [IX.644 = VII.234] πάντα τί μοι κατὰ θυμὸν ἐείσαο μυθήσασθαι — as Achilleus replies to his speech in the embassy

(e) XI.465-466^{e}: [XI.465 = IX.644] ἀμφί μ' Ὀδυσσῆος ταλασίφρονος ἵκετ' ἀϋτή — as Menelaos summons him to go help the wounded Odysseus

d 4. Eurypylos in XI.809-810: ἔνθα οἱ Εὐρύπυλος βεβλημένος ἀντεβόλησε / διογενὴς Εὐαιμονίδης κατὰ μηρὸν ὀϊστῶι — as he meets Patroklos leaving Nestor's tent

da 5. Menelaos in XXIII.293-294^{ce}: τῶι δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' Ἀτρεΐδης ὦρτο ξανθὸς Μενέλαος / διογενής, ὑπὸ δὲ ζυγὸν ἤγαγεν ὠκέας ἵππους — in list of those who harness their horses for the chariot race

da 6. Odysseus in

(a) II.173-175: διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ / οὕτω δὴ οἶκόνδε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν / φεύξεσθ' — as Athena tells him to stop the rush to the ships; cf. B. 1 below

(b) IV.358-359^{e}: [IV.358 = II.173] οὔτε σε νεικείω περιώσιον οὔτε κελεύω — as Agamemnon attempts to soothe him after having annoyed him

(c) VIII.93-94: [VIII.93 = II.173] πῆι φεύγεις μετὰ νῶτα βαλὼν κακὸς ὣς ἐν ὁμίλωι — as Diomedes tries (unsuccessfully) to get him to stop running and help rescue Nestor

(d) IX.308-309: [IX.308 = II.173] χρὴ μὲν δὴ τὸν μῦθον ἀπηλεγέως ἀποειπεῖν — as Achilleus replies to his repetition of Agamemnon's offers

(e) IX.624-625: [IX.624 = II.173] ἴομεν· οὐ γάρ μοι δοκέει μύθοιο τελευτὴ — as Aias suggests that the embassy to Achilleus admit defeat and go

(f) X.144-145: [X.144 = II.173] μὴ νεμέσα· τοῖον γὰρ ἄχος βεβίηκεν Ἀχαιούς — as Nestor replies, after he has asked why Nestor is wandering around in the night waking people up

(g) X.339-340: βῆ ῥ' ἀν' ὁδὸν μεμαώς· τὸν δὲ φράσατο προσιόντα / διογενὴς Ὀδυσεύς, Διομήδεα δὲ προσέειπεν — as he points out Dolon to Diomedes

(h) XXIII.723-724^{e}: [XXIII.723 = II.173] ἤ μ' ἀνάειρ',

ἤ ἐγὼ σέ· τὰ δ' αὖ Διὶ πάντα μελήσει — Aias addressing him in the middle of their wrestling match

a 7. Patroklos in

(a) I.337: ἀλλ' ἄγε, διογενὲς Πατρόκλεες, ἔξαγε κούρην — as Achilleus tells him to give Briseis to Agamemnon's heralds

(b) XI.823-824: οὐκέτι, διογενὲς Πατρόκλεες, ἄλκαρ Ἀχαιῶν / ἔσσεται — as Eurypylos describes to him the plight of the Achaians

(c) XVI.49: ὤ μοι, διογενὲς Πατρόκλεες, οἷον ἔειπες· — as Achilleus replies to his request to be sent to help the Achaians

(d) XVI.126-127: ὄρσεο, διογενὲς Πατρόκλεες, ἱπποκέλευθε· / λεύσσω δὴ παρὰ νηυσὶ πυρὸς δηΐοιο ἰωήν — as Achilleus urges him to hasten and arm

(e) XVI.707-708: χάζεο, διογενὲς Πατρόκλεες· οὔ νύ τοι αἶσα / σῶι ὑπὸ δουρὶ πόλιν πέρθαι Τρώων ἀγερώχων — as Apollo warns him back from the walls of Troy

B. Passages in the Odyssey which are immediately preceded by the formulaic διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ [= II.173 etc.]

1. 5.204-205: οὕτω δὴ οἶκόνδε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν / αὐτίκα νῦν ἐθέλεις ἰέναι; σὺ δὲ χαῖρε καὶ ἔμπης — Kalypso asking Odysseus if he wishes to go home; cf. A. 6 a above
2. 10.402: ἔρχεο νῦν ἐπὶ νῆα θοὴν καὶ θῖνα θαλάσσης — Kirke telling him to fetch the comrades whom he left with his ship
3. 10.457: μηκέτι νῦν θαλερὸν γοὸν ὄρνυτε . . . — Kirke telling the reunited companions to stop grieving and eat
4. 10.489: μηκέτι νῦν ἀέκοντες ἐμῶι ἐνὶ μίμνετε οἴκωι — Kirke replying to Odysseus' request to let him go home
5. 10.505: μή τί τοι ἡγεμόνος γε ποθὴ παρὰ νηῒ μελέσθω — Kirke replying after he has asked how he is to get to Hades
6. 11.61: ἆσέ με δαίμονος αἶσα κακὴ καὶ ἀθέσφατος οἶνος — Elpenor replying after Odysseus has asked how he reached Hades first
7. 11.93-94: τίπτ' αὖτ', ὦ δύστηνε, λιπὼν φάος ἠελίοιο / ἤλυθες, ὄφρα ἴδηι νέκυας καὶ ἀτερπέα χῶρον; — Teiresias greeting Odysseus in Hades
8. 11.406: οὔτ' ἐμέ γ' ἐν νήεσσι Ποσειδάων ἐδάμασσεν — Agamemnon replying after he has asked how Agamemnon died

9. 11.474: σχέτλιε, τίπτ' ἔτι μεῖζον ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μήσεαι ἔργον; — Achilleus greeting him in Hades
10. 11.618: ἆ δείλ', ἦ τινὰ καὶ σὺ κακὸν μόρον ἡγηλάζεις — Herakles greeting him in Hades
11. 13.376: φράζευ ὅπως μνηστῆρσιν ἀναιδέσι χεῖρας ἐφήσεις — Athena telling him to consider how to take vengeance on the suitors
12. 14.487-488: οὔ τοι ἔτι ζωοῖσι μετέσσομαι, ἀλλά με χεῖμα / δάμναται· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω χλαῖναν· — the beggar (Odysseus disguised) telling Eumaios how once on a night ambush at Troy Odysseus helped him get a cloak
13. 16.168: ἤδη νῦν σῷ παιδὶ ἔπος φάο μηδ' ἐπίκευθε — Athena telling Odysseus to reveal himself to Telemachos
14. 22.165-166: κεῖνος δὴ αὖτ' ἀΐδηλος ἀνήρ, ὃν ὀϊόμεθ' αὐτοὶ — Eumaios telling Odysseus that Melanthios, as they had suspected, is fetching arms for the suitors
15. 24.543: ἴσχεο, παῦε δὲ νεῖκος ὁμοιίοο πολέμοιο — Athena telling Odysseus to cease battle with the Ithakans

C. Other passages in the Odyssey in which διογενής *is used of Odysseus*

1. 2.351-352: κεῖνον ὀϊομένη τὸν κάμμορον, εἴ ποθεν ἔλθοι / διογενὴς Ὀδυσεὺς θανατὸν καὶ κῆρας ἀλύξας — as Telemachos tells Eurykleia to fetch him some of the wine which she is keeping in case Odysseus should return
2. 2.365-366: . . . ὁ δ' ὤλετο τῆλοθι πάτρης / διογενὴς Ὀδυσεύς — Eurykleia objecting to Telemachos journey for news of Odysseus as fruitless on the grounds that he is surely dead
3. 5.386-387: ἧος ὅ Φαιήκεσσι φιληρέτμοισι μιγείη [5.387 = 2.353] — as Athena calms the storm Poseidon has raised so that Odysseus can land on Scheria
4. 8.3: ἂν δ' ἄρα διογενὴς ὦρτο πτολίπορθος Ὀδυσσεύς — as Odysseus arises at dawn in Alkinoos' palace
5. 10.443: διογενές, τοῦτον μὲν ἐάσομεν, εἰ σὺ κελεύεις — Odysseus' crew suggesting he leave Eurylochos at the ship when E. refuses to accompany them to Kirke's place
6. 15.485: τὸν δ' αὖ διογενὴς Ὀδυσεὺς ἠμείβετο μύθωι — as Odysseus comments on Eumaios' story about his kidnapping as a child
7. 18.311-313: . . . αὐτὰρ ὁ τῆισιν / αὐτὸς διογενὴς μετέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς· / "δμωιαὶ Ὀδυσσῆος, δὴν οἰχομένοιο

ἄνακτος" — the beggar suggesting to the maids that he take over the job of providing light for the suitors dancing

8. 23.306-308: αὐτὰρ ὁ διογενὴς Ὀδυσεὺς ὅσα κήδε' ἔθηκεν / ἀνθρώποις ὅσα τ' αὐτὸς ὀϊζύσας ἐμόγησε, / παντ' ἔλεγ' — as Odysseus and Penelope exchange accounts of what they endured during their separation

In the Iliad:	7	different characters
	23	instances, but only 15 different lines, since 3 lines out of 5 for Aias equal each other and 7 out of 8 for Odysseus
In the Odyssey:	1	character (1 same as in Iliad: Odysseus)
	23	instances, but only 9 different lines, since 15 lines equal each other (and 7 in the Iliad)
Totals:	7	different characters (5 also called διοτρεφής)
	46	instances
	23	different lines

List 2, Chap. II, p. 58, n. 3

Use of διοτρεφής *in Homer*

d = persons also called διογενής

A. Characters in the Iliad called διοτρεφής

da 1. Achilleus in
(a) IX.229-230: ἀλλὰ λίην μέγα πῆμα, διοτρεφές, εἰσορόωντες / δείδιμεν — as Odysseus begins to describe the plight of the Achaians before repeating Agamemnon's offers to Achilleus
(b) XXI.75: ἀντί τοί εἰμ' ἱκετάο, διοτρεφές, αἰδοίοιο — as Lykaon, son of Priamos, begins his plea for mercy
(c) XXIV.553: μή πώ μ' ἐς θρόνον ἵζε, διοτρεφές, ὄφρα κεν Ἕκτωρ — as Priamos tells him he does not wish to be seated while Hektor lies unmourned
(d) XXIV.635: λέξον νῦν με τάχιστα, διοτρεφές, ὄφρα καὶ ἤδη — as Priamos asks Achilleus to let him sleep, after Achilleus has accepted ransom for Hektor's body

2. Aisyetes in XIII.427: ἔνθ' Αἰσυήταο διοτρεφέος φίλον υἱόν — father of Alkathoös, son in law of Anchises, whom Idomeneus kills

a 3. Antilochos in
(a) XVII.685: Ἀντίλοχ', εἰ δ' ἄγε δεῦρο, διοτρεφές, ὄφρα

πύθηαι — as Menelaos summons him to tell him of Patroklos' death

(b) XXIII.581ᵉ: 'Αντίλοχ', εἰ δ' ἄγε δεῦρο, διοτρεφές, ἣ θέμις ἐστί — as Menelaos challenges him to swear that he did not use guile (δόλος) to pass him in the chariot race

d 4. Eurypylos in XI.819: ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τάδε εἰπέ, διοτρεφὲς Εὐρύπυλ' ἥρως — as Patroklos asks him if the Achaians will be able to withstand Hektor

da 5. Menelaos in

(a) VII.109-110: ἀφραίνεις, Μενέλαε διοτρεφές, οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ / ταύτης ἀφροσύνη — as Agamemnon restrains him from accepting Hektor's challenge to a duel

(b) X.43-44: χρεὼ βουλῆς ἐμὲ καὶ σέ, διοτρεφὲς ὦ Μενέλαε, / κερδαλέης — as Agamemnon answers, after Menelaos has asked why he is up and about in the middle of the night

(c) XVII.12: 'Ατρεΐδη Μενέλαε διοτρεφές, ὄρχαμε λαῶν — as Euphorbos warns him to withdraw from Patroklos' corpse

(d) XVII.34: νῦν μὲν δή, Μενέλαε διοτρεφές, ἦ μάλα τείσεις — as Euphorbos threatens that he will pay the penalty for killing E's brother, after Menelaos has refused to withdraw from the corpse

(e) XVII.238-239: ὦ πέπον, ὦ Μενέλαε διοτρεφές, οὐκέτι νῶϊ / ἔλπομαι — as Aias, in the face of a Trojan charge over Patroklos' body, tells Menelaos that he is afraid that they will be killed

(f) XVII.652: σκέπτεο νῦν, Μενέλαε διοτρεφές, αἴ κεν ἴδηαι — as Aias suggests that Menelaos look for Antilochos to take a message to Achilleus about Patroklos' death; cf. 3a above

(g) XVII.679: ὣς τότε σοί, Μενέλαε διοτρεφές, ὄσσε φαεινὼ — as the poet, addressing Menelaos in the second person, describes him looking everywhere for Antilochos; cf. 3a above

(h) XVII.702: οὐδ' ἄρα σοί, Μενέλαε διοτρεφές, ἤθελε θυμὸς — as the poet, addressing Menelaos in the second person, describes how he did not stay to help the Pylian contingent after Antilochos' departure, but went back to the corpse of Patroklos

(i) XXIII.593-594ᵉ: . . . δοῦναι / βουλοίμην ἢ σοί γε, διοτρεφές, ἤματα πάντα — as Antilochos, admitting that he acted wrongly in the chariot race, says that he prefers to give

Menelaos his prize rather than remain in his disfavor; cf. 3 b above.

6. Nestor in
(a) XI.648: οὐχ ἕδος ἐστί, γεραιὲ διοτρεφές, οὐδέ με πείσεις — and
(b) XI.653: εὖ δὲ σὺ οἶσθα, γεραιὲ διοτρεφές, οἷος ἐκεῖνος — both in Patroklos' speech refusing Nestor's invitation to sit down because he must get back to Achilleus
7. Peteos in
(a) IV.338[e]: ὦ υἱὲ Πετεῶο διοτρεφέος βασιλῆος — as Agamemnon scolds his son Menestheus for hanging back from battle
(b) XII.355-356: ἠνώγει Πετεῶο διοτρεφέος φίλος υἱὸς / κεῖσ' ἴμεν — as Thoötes, at the request of Peteos' son Menestheus, summons the Aiantes to help meet a Lykian attack
8. Phoinix in IX.607-608: Φοῖνιξ, ἄττα γεραιέ, διοτρεφές, οὔ τί με ταύτης / χρεὼ τιμῆς — as Achilleus replies to his speech in the embassy
9. Priamos in
(a) V.464[e]: ὦ υἱεῖς Πριάμοιο, διοτρεφέος βασιλῆος — as Ares encourages the Trojans to resist Diomedes; cf. C 4 below
(b) XXIV.803: δώμασιν ἐν Πριάμοιο, διοτρεφέος βασιλῆος — in the description of Hektor's funeral at the close of the Iliad
10. Skamandros in XXI.223: ἔσται ταῦτα, Σκάμανδρε διοτρεφές, ὡς σὺ κελεύεις — as Achilleus replies after the river has complained of his channel being choked with corpses; Skamandros is called διιπετέος ποταμοῖο in XXI.268 and 326
11. Troizenos in II.847[e]: υἱὸς Τροιζήνοιο διοτρεφέος Κεάδαο — of his son Euphemos in the Trojan catalogue

B. Characters in the Odyssey called διοτρεφής

d 1. Agamemnon in 24.122: μέμνημαι τάδε πάντα, διοτρεφές, ὡς ἀγορεύεις — as Amphimedon replies after Agamemnon has asked about the suitors' deaths in the second Nekyia
2. Agelaos in 22.136: οὔ πως ἔστ', Ἀγέλαε διοτρεφές· ἄγχι γὰρ αἰνῶς — as Melanthios replies to a suggestion

da 3. Menelaos in
(a) 4.26: ξείνω δή τινε τώδε, διοτρεφὲς ὦ Μενέλαε — as his

steward announces the arrival of Telemachos and Peisistratos

(b) 4.138: ἴδμεν δή, Μενέλαε διοτρεφές, οἵ τινες οἵδε — as Helen asks if the identity of the two young men is known

(c) 4.156: Ἀτρεΐδη Μενέλαε διοτρεφές, ὄρχαμε λαῶν — as Peistratos tells him that Telemachos is indeed Odysseus' son

(d) 4.235-236: Ἀτρεΐδη Μενέλαε διοτρεφὲς ἠδὲ καὶ οἵδε / . . . παῖδες — as Helen addresses him and the boys at the beginning of her tale about Odysseus' spy expedition into Troy

(e) 4.291 = 4.156: as Telemachos responds to Menelaos' tale of Odysseus' bravery in the wooden horse

(f) 4.316 = 4.156: as Telemachos answers after Menelaos has asked what brought him to Sparta

(g) 4.391: καὶ δέ κέ τοι εἴπῃσι, διοτρεφές, αἴ κ' ἐθέλῃσθα — as Eidothea tells him that Proteus will tell him, if he wishes, what has happened at home in his absence as well as how to leave Egypt

(h) 4.561: σοὶ δ' οὐ θέσφατόν ἐστι, διοτρεφὲς ὦ Μενέλαε, — as Proteus tells him that he is not fated to die in Argos, but to go to the Elysian fields οὕνεκ' ἔχεις Ἑλένην καί σφιν γαμβρὸς Διός ἐσσι [4.569]

(i) 15.64 = 4.156: as Telemachos asks Menelaos to let him go home

(j) 15.87 = 4.156: as Telemachos refuses Menelaos' offer of a guided tour around Argos

(k) 15.155: καὶ λίην κείνωι γε διοτρεφές, ὡς ἀγορεύεις — as Telemachos promises to give Nestor Menelaos' respects

(l) 15.167: φράζεο δή, Μενέλαε διοτρεφές, ὄρχαμε λαῶν — as Peisistratos asks Menelaos if an omen which has occurred is meant for himself and Telemachos or for Menelaos

da 4. Odysseus in

(a) 10.266: μή μ' ἄγε κεῖσ' ἀέκοντα, διοτρεφές, ἀλλὰ λίπ' αὐτοῦ — as Eurylochos, having returned with the news that Kirke transformed half the crew into swine, begs Odysseus not to force him to go back to Kirke's

(b) 10.419: σοὶ μὲν νοστήσαντι, διοτρεφές, ὡς ἐχάρημεν — as Odysseus' crew rejoices seeing him safely returned from Kirke's

5. Peistratos in 15.199: μή με παρὲξ ἄγε νῆα, διοτρεφές, ἀλλὰ

λίπ' αὐτοῦ — as Telemachos asks him not to make him (T) go on to Nestor's palace, but to let him go directly to his ship; cf. 4 above

C. διοτρεφές *with nouns other than proper names in Iliad and Odyssey*

1. αἰζηοί in

(a) II.660[e]: πέρσας ἄστεα πολλὰ διοτρεφέων αἰζηῶν — in catalogue of ships describing how Herakles brought home Astyocheia mother of Tlepolemos, after he had sacked the cities of many warriors

(b) IV.280-281[e]: τοῖαι ἅμ' Αἰάντεσσι διοτρεφέων αἰζηῶν / δήϊον ἐς πόλεμον πυκιναὶ κίνυντο φάλαγγες — in a simile, describing how the ranks close around the Aiantes

2. ἄνθρωποι in 5.378: εἰς ὅ κεν ἀνθρώποισι διοτρεφέεσσι μιγήῃς — Poseidon commenting on the fact that Odysseus will eventually return to the normal world

3. βασιλεύς in

(a) I.176: ἔχθιστος δέ μοί ἐσσι διοτρεφέων βασιλήων — Agamemnon to Achilleus in their quarrel

(b) II.97-98: κήρυκες βοόωντες ἐρήτυον, εἴ ποτ' ἀϋτῆς / σχοίατ', ἀκούσειαν δὲ διοτρεφέων βασιλήων — describing how the heralds marshal the army for an assembly

* (c) II.196: θυμὸς δὲ μέγας ἐστὶ διοτρεφέων βασιλήων — as Odysseus addresses the leaders in halting the rush to the ships

(d) II.445-446: οἱ δ' ἀμφ' Ἀτρεΐωνα διοτρεφέες βασιλῆες / θῦνον κρίνοντες — as the leaders marshal the army for battle

(e) XIV.27: Νέστορι δὲ ξύμβληντο διοτρεφέες βασιλῆες — as Diomedes, Odysseus, and Agamemnon, all wounded, meet Nestor by the ships

(f) 3.479-480: ... ἔθηκεν / ὄψα τε, οἷα ἔδουσι διοτρεφέες βασιλῆες — describing the provisions which Nestor's housekeeper puts in the chariot for Peisistratos and Telemachos

(g) 4.43-44: . . . οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες / θαύμαζον κατὰ δῶμα διοτρεφέος βασιλῆος — describing how Peistratos and Telemachos admire Menelaos' palace

(h) 4.63-64: ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν γένος ἐστὲ διοτρεφέων βασιλήων /

* Some mss. read διοτρεφέος βασιλῆος, which would make the reference to Agamemnon more explicit.

σκηπτούχων — Menelaos' comment on his guests before he knows who they are

(i) 7.49-50: . . . δήεις δὲ διοτρεφέας βασιλῆας / δαίτην δαινυμένους — Athena, disguised as Phaiakian girl, pointing out to Odysseus Alkinoos' palace, in which he will find the kings feasting

4. υἱοί in V.463: υἱάσι δὲ Πριάμοιο διατρεφέεσσι κέλευεν — as Ares encourages the Trojans; cf. A. 9 a above

In the Iliad:	11 different characters
	26 instances
	3 different nouns other than proper names
	8 instances
In the Odyssey:	5 different characters (1 same as in Iliad)
	17 instances
	2 different nouns other than proper names (1 same as in Iliad)
	5 instances
Totals:	15 different characters (5 also called διογενής)
	4 different nouns other than proper names
Total instances:	Iliad: 34
	Odyssey: 22
	56

List 3, Chap. II, p. 60, n. 1

Use of κλυτός *and* κλειτός *in the Iliad and Odyssey*

A. Persons called κλυτός *in the Iliad and Odyssey*

a 1. Achilleus in XX.320: ἷζε δ' ὅθ' Αἰνείας ἠδ' ὁ κλυτὸς ἦεν Ἀχιλλεύς — as Poseidon arrives to rescue Aineias

2. Agamemnon in

(a) 1.300: Αἴγισθον δολόμητιν, ὅ οἱ πατέρα κλυτὸν ἔκτα; — as Athena-Mentes tells Telemachos what fame Orestes won by killing Aigisthos in revenge for the murder of his father Agamemnon

(b) 3.198 = 1.300: the same, as Nestor concludes his account of the νόστοι from Troy

(c) 3.308 = 1.300: the same, in Nestor's more detailed account of Agamemnon

a 3. Alkinoos in 6.36: ἀλλ' ἄγ' ἐπότρυνον πατέρα κλυτὸν ἠῶθι πρὸ — Athena in Nausikaa's dream telling her to ask her father for a wagon to take laundry to river

* 4. Altes in XXII.51: πολλὰ γὰρ ὤπασε παιδὶ γέρων ὀνομά κλυτὸς Ἄλτης — father of Laothoe, one of Priamos' wives, whose sons Lykaon and Polydoros Priamos hopes to ransom with her abundant dowry

5. Antiphates in 10.114: ἡ δ' αἶψ' ἐξ ἀγορῆς ἐκάλει κλυτὸν Ἀντιφατῆα — king of the Laistrygonians, whom his wife summons when she sees Odysseus' men; cf. D. 7 below

6. Hektor in XXIV.789: ἦμος ἄρ' ἀμφὶ πυρὴν κλυτοῦ Ἕκτορος ἔγρετο λαός — in the description of his funeral

7. Hippodameia in II.742[c]: τὸν ῥ' ὑπὸ Πειριθόωι τέκετο κλυτὸς Ἱπποδάμεια — mother of Polypoites in the catalogue of ships

a 8. Odysseus in 24.409: ὣς δ' αὔτως παῖδες Δολίου κλυτὸν ἀμφ' Ὀδυσῆα — as the sons of Dolios greet him

9. Orion in 11.310[e]: καὶ πολὺ καλλίστους μετά γε κλυτὸν Ὠρίωνα — as Otos and Ephialtes are compared to him

10. Pelegon in XXI.159[e]-160: ὅς τέκε Πηλεγόνα κλυτὸν ἔγχεϊ· τὸν δ' ἐμέ φασι / γείνασθαι — father of Asteropaios, in genealogy which A. relates to Achilleus

B. Gods called κλυτός *in the Iliad and Odyssey*

1. Amphitrite in 5.422: ἐξ ἁλός, οἷά τε πολλὰ τρέφει κλυτὸς Ἀμφιτρίτη — as Odysseus, swimming off the coast of Scheria, fears attack by one of the monsters whom she nourishes; cf. 3 g below

2. Hephaistos in XVIII.614: αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πάνθ' ὅπλα κάμε κλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις — as he finishes making new armor for Achilleus

3. Poseidon in

(a) VIII.440: τῶι δὲ καὶ ἵππους μὲν λῦσε κλυτὸς ἐννοσίγαιος — as he unyokes for Zeus the horses who have just brought him back from mount Ida

(b) IX.362: εἰ δέ κεν εὐπλοίην δώηι κλυτὸς ἐννοσίγαιος — as Achilleus says that he could reach Phthia in three days on a good voyage

* OCT prints ὀνομάκλυτος as a *hapax legomenon*

(c) XIV.135: οὐδ' ἀλαοσκοπιὴν εἶχε κλυτὸς ἐννοσίγαιος — as he seizes a chance to enter the battle and encourage Agamemnon

(d) XIV.510[e]: ἤρατ', ἐπεί ῥ' ἔκλινε μάχην κλυτὸς ἐννοσίγαιος — as the poet invokes the Muses at the head of list of Achaian victims when Poseidon is helping them

(e) XV.173: ἄγχου δ' ἱσταμένη προσέφη κλυτὸν ἐννοσίγαιον — as Iris tells him Zeus' command to withdraw from the battle

(f) XV.184: τὴν δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας προσέφη κλυτὸς ἐννοσίγαιος — as he replies to Iris

(g) 5.423: οἶδα γὰρ ὥς μοι ὀδώδυσται κλυτὸς ἐννοσίγαιος — in Odysseus' apprehensive soliloquy; cf. above B. 1

(h) 9.518: πομπήν τ' ὀτρύνω δόμεναι κλυτὸν ἐννοσίγαιος — as the Kyklops tries to get Odysseus to come back within his reach

C. Passages in the Iliad and Odyssey where τεύχεα *are called* κλυτά

1. V.434-435: . . . ἵετο δ' αἰεὶ / Αἰνείαν κτεῖναι καὶ ἀπὸ κλυτὰ τεύχεα δῦσαι — as Diomedes attacks Aineias, wishing to get his armor
2. VI.504: ἀλλ' ὅ γ', ἐπεὶ κατέδυ κλυτὰ τεύχεα, ποικίλα χαλκῶι — as Paris arms before accompanying Hektor back to the battlefield
3. XI.333-334[e]: . . . δουρικλειτὸς Διομήδης / θυμοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς κεκαδὼν κλυτὰ τεύχε' ἀπηύρα — as Diomedes strips the armor of the sons of Merops
4. XVI.64: τύνη δ' ὤμοιιν, μὲν ἐμὰ κλυτὰ τεύχεα δῦθι — as Achilleus tells Patroklos to put on his armor
5. XVII.70-71: ἔνθα κε ῥεῖα φεροὶ κλυτὰ τεύχεα Πανθοΐδαο / Ἀτρεΐδης — as Menelaos, having killed Euphorbos in defending the corpse of Patroklos begins to strip Euphorbos' armor
6. XVII.84-86: . . . αὐτίκα δ' ἔγνω / τὸν μὲν ἀπαινύμον κλυτὰ τεύχεα, τὸν δ' ἐπὶ γαίῃ / κείμενον — as Hektor sees Menelaos stripping Euphorbos' armor from the corpse
7. XVII.125: Ἕκτωρ μὲν Πάτροκλον ἐπεὶ κλυτὰ τεύχε' ἀπηύρα — as Hektor, having driven Menelaos away and gotten the armor of Achilleus, begins to mutilate Patroklos' corpse
8. XVII.191: οἳ προτὶ ἄστυ φέρον κλυτὰ τεύχεα Πηλεΐωνος —

as Hektor, having decided to wear Achilleus' armor, overtakes the comrades who had been taking it to the city

9. XVII.207-208: . . . οὔ τι μάχης ἐκ νοστήσαντι / δέξεται Ἀνδρομάχη κλυτὰ τεύχεα Πηλεΐωνος — as Zeus, seeing Hektor put on Achilleus' armor, predicts H's death
10. XVIII.144: υἱεῖ ἐμῶι δόμεναι κλυτὰ τεύχεα παμφανόωντα — as Thetis tells her sisters that she is going to Hephaistos for new armor for Achilleus
11. XVIII.147: ἤϊεν, ὄφρα φίλωι παιδὶ κλυτὰ τεύχε' ἐνείκαι — as she goes
12. XVIII.192: ἄλλου δ' οὔ τευ οἶδα, τεῦ ἂν κλυτὰ τεύχεα δύω — as Achilleus tells Iris that he does not know whose armor he could wear to help rescue the body of Patroklos
13. XVIII.197: εὖ νυ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ὅ τοι κλυτὰ τεύχε' ἔχονται — as Iris replies that she and Hera know the Trojans have his armor
14. XIX.10: τύνη δ' Ἡφαίστοιο πάρα κλυτὰ τεύχεα δέξο — as Thetis gives Achilleus the arms Hephaistos has made
15. XXII.258: ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἄρ κέ σε συλήσω κλυτὰ τεύχε', Ἀχιλλεῦ — as Hektor tries to make an agreement with Achilleus that the victor in their duel will keep the armor but return the corpse
16. XXII.399: ἐς δίφρον δ' ἀναβὰς ἀνά τε κλυτὰ τεύχε' ἀείρας — as Achilleus recovers his original armor from Hektor's corpse
17. 12.228: αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καταδὺς κλυτὰ τεύχεα καὶ δύο δοῦρε — as Odysseus describes how he armed to defend himself against Skylla
18. 22.109: βῆ δ' ἴμεναι θάλαμόνδ', ὅθι οἱ κλυτὰ τεύχεα κεῖτο — as Telemachos fetches armor for the battle against the suitors

D. Passages in the Iliad and Odyssey where δώματα *are called* κλυτά

1. II.854ᶜ: ἀμφί τε Παρθένιον ποταμὸν κλυτὰ δώματα ναῖον — of the Paphlagones homes, in the catalogue of ships
2. XIII.21-22: Αἰγάς, ἔνθα δέ οἱ κλυτὰ δώματα βένθεσι λίμνης / χρύσεα μαρμαίροντα — as Poseidon stops at Aigai on his way to Troy; cf. 4 below
3. XXIV.719: οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ εἰσάγαγον κλυτὰ δώματα, τὸν μὲν ἔπειτα — as the Trojans carry Hektor's corpse into the palace of Priamos

4. 5.381: ἵκετο δ' εἰς Αἰγάς, ὅθι οἱ κλυτὰ δώματ' ἔασιν — as Poseidon returns to Aigai, after raising storm against Odysseus on his raft; cf. 2 above
5. 7.81-83: . . . αὐτὰρ 'Οδυσσεὺς / 'Αλκινόου πρὸς δώματ' ἴε κλυτά· πολλὰ δέ οἱ κῆρ / ὅρμαιν' — as Odysseus approaches the palace of Alkinoos
6. 10.60-61: βῆν εἰς Αἰόλου κλυτὰ δώματα· τὸν δ' ἐκίχανον / δαινύμενον — as Odysseus goes to the house of Aiolos, after his crew has opened the bag of winds
7. 10.112-113: οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλθον κλυτὰ δώματα, τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα / εὗρον — as Odysseus' crew enters the house of Antiphates; cf. A. 5 above
8. 19.371: ξείνων τηλεδαπῶν, ὅτε τευ κλυτὰ δώμαθ' ἵκοιτο — as Eurykleia imagines that Odysseus may have been mistreated whenever he entered a palace, as the beggar has been in Ithaka
9. 24.304: εἰμὶ μὲν ἐξ 'Αλύβαντος, ὅθι κλυτὰ δώματα ναίω — as Odysseus in a false tale to Laertes claims to be the son of the king of Alybas

E. Other nouns in the Iliad znd Odyssey with which κλυτός *is used*

1. ἄλσος in 6.321-322: δύσετό τ' ἠέλιος, καὶ τοὶ κλυτὸν ἄλσος ἵκοντο / ἱρὸν 'Αθηναίης — as Odysseus and Nausikaa arrive at the grove of Athena
2. Argos in XXIV.437: σοὶ δ' ἂν ἐγὼ πομπὸς καί κε κλυτὸν Ἄργος ἱκοίμην — as Hermes, disguised as a young man, says that he would escort Priamos even to Argos
3. δῶρα in
   (a) XXIV.458: ἐς δ' ἄγαγε κλυτὰ δῶρα ποδώκεϊ Πηλεΐων — as Hermes carries in the ransom which Priamos offers to Achilleus for Hektor's body
   (b) 8.417: δύσετό τ' ἠέλιος, καὶ τῶι κλυτὰ δῶρα παρῆεν — as the Phaiakians give Odysseus gifts
4. ἔθνεα νεκρῶν in 10.526: αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν εὐχῆισι λίσηι κλυτὰ ἔθνεα νεκρῶν — as Kirke instructs Odysseus how to entreat the tribes of the dead
5. εἵματα in 6.58: ὑψηλὴν εὔκυκλον, ἵνα κλυτὰ εἵματ' ἄγωμαι — as Nausikaa asks Alkinoos for a wagon to take laundry to the river; cf. A. 3 above
6. ἔργα in 20.72: ἔργα δ' 'Αθηναίη δέδαε κλυτὰ ἐργάζεσθαι — as

Penelope describes the endowments of the daughters of Pandareos

7. λιμήν in
   (a) 10.87: ἔνθ' ἐπεὶ ἐς λιμένα κλυτὸν ἤλθομεν, ὃν περὶ πέτρη — as Odysseus describes the harbor of the Laistrygonians
   (b) 15.472: ἡμεῖς δ' ἐς λιμένα κλυτὸν ἤλθομεν ὦκα κιόντες — Eumaios speaking of the harbor of Syria, his childhood home
8. μῆλα in 9.308: καὶ τότε πῦρ ἀνέκαιε καὶ ἤμελγε κλυτὰ μῆλα — as the Kyklops milks his flocks
9. ὄνομα in
   (a) 9.364-365: Κύκλωψ, εἰρωτᾷς μ' ὄνομα κλυτόν; αὐτὰρ ἐγώ τοι / ἐξερέω — as Odysseus tells the Kyklops that his name is Noman
   (b) 19.183: οἴχεθ' ἅμ' Ἀτρεΐδῃσιν, ἐμοὶ δ' ὄνομα κλυτὸν Αἴθων — as the disguised Odysseus tells Penelope that he is Cretan named Aithon
10. τείχεα in XXI.295-296: πρὶν κατὰ Ἰλιόφι κλυτὰ τείχεα λαὸν ἐέλσαι / Τρωϊκόν — as Poseidon tells Achilleus not to stop fighting until he has penned the Trojans within the walls of Troy
11. τέκτων in XXIII.712[e]: ὡς ὅτ' ἀμείβοντες, τούς τε κλυτὸς ἤραρε τέκτων — in a simile comparing wrestlers to the beams of house built by a famous architect
12. φῦλα ἀνθρώπων in XIV.361: ὣς εἰπὼν ὁ μὲν ᾤχετ' ἐπὶ κλυτὰ φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων — as Hypnos leaves the battle after delivering Hera's message to Poseidon

* *F. Passages in the Iliad where hecatombs are called* κλειτός

1. I.446-447: . . . ὁ δὲ δέξατο χαίρων / παῖδα φίλην· τοὶ δ' ὦκα θεῷ κλειτὴν ἑκατόμβην — as Odysseus restores Chryseis to Chryse and the crew brings the victims for the sacrifice to Apollo
2. IV.102: ἀρνῶν πρωτογόνων ῥέξειν κλειτὴν ἑκατόμβην — as Athena tells Pandaros to vow a sacrifice of first born lambs to Apollo before he shoots at Menelaos
3. IV.120 = IV.102: as he does so

* κλειτός does not occur in the Odyssey except as a proper name [15.249-25; see II, 9, A. 5]; but cf. ἀγακλειτός, Appendix III, List 4, C. 5a, b, c and 7a and b.

4. VII.449-450: ἀμφὶ δὲ τάφρον / ἤλασαν, οὐδὲ θεοῖσι δόσαν κλειτὰς ἑκατόμβας — as Poseidon complains to Zeus about the wall and ditch which the Achaians built without sacrificing
5. XII.6 = VII.450: as the poet says that the wall and ditch will not hold off the Trojans
6. XXIII.864 = IV.102: as Teukros in the archery contest fails to vow sacrifices to Apollo
7. XXIII.873 = IV.102: as Meriones does vow, and hits the targets

G. Passages in the Iliad where the Trojan allies are called κλειτοί

1. III.415-416: ἀλλ' οὔ τις δύνατο Τρώων κλειτῶν τ' ἐπικούρων / δεῖξαι — as Menelaos searches for Alexandros after their duel, and no one of the Trojans or allies know where he is
2. IV.379[e]: καί ῥα μάλα λίσσοντο δόμεν κλειτοὺς ἐπικούρους — as Agamemnon tells Diomedes how Tydeus and Polyneikes came to Mykenai asking for allies against Thebes
3. VI.227-228: πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ Τρῶες κλειτοί τ' ἐπίκουροι / κτεῖναι — as Diomedes tells Glaukos he will not fight him, but only the others
4. XI.220[c]: ἢ αὐτῶν Τρώων ἠὲ κλειτῶν ἐπικούρων — as the poet invokes the Muses to tell him who of the enemy first met Agamemnon
5. XVII.14-15: οὐ γάρ τις πρότερος Τρώων κλειτῶν τ' ἐπικούρων / Πάτροκλον βάλε — as Euphorbos tells Menelaos that he has first claim on Patroklos' armor since he was the first to wound him
6. XVII.212-213: μετὰ δὲ κλειτοὺς ἐπικούρους / βῆ ῥα μέγα ἰάχων — as Hektor, having put on Achilleus' armor, returns to battle
7. XVIII.229: τρὶς δὲ κυκήθησαν Τρῶες κλειτοί τ' ἐπίκουροι — as the Trojans are thrown into confusion by Achilleus' appearance at the ditch

H. Panopeus in XVII.307: Φωκήων ὄχ' ἄριστος, ὃς ἐν κλειτῶι Πανοπῆι — as Hektor kills Schedios, a Phokian from Panopeus

In the Iliad: 5 different characters
5 instances

	2 different gods
	7 instances
	16 instances of κλυτὰ τεύχεα
	3 instances of κλυτὰ δώματα
	5 other nouns (including 1 place name)
	5 instances
	7 instances of κλειταί hecatombs
	7 instances of κλειτοὶ ἐπίκουροι
	1 instance of κλειτός + a place name
In the Odyssey:	5 different characters
	7 instances
	2 different gods (1 the same as in Iliad)
	3 instances
	2 instances of κλυτὰ τεύχεα
	6 instances of κλυτὰ δώματα
	8 other nouns (one the same as in Iliad)
	10 instances
Totals:	10 different characters
	3 different gods
	14 different nouns
Total instances of κλυτός:	Iliad: 36
	Odyssey: 28
	64 + 15 instances of κλειτοί in Iliad

List 4, Chap. II, p. 60, n. 1

Adjectives in Homer meaning "famous" compounded with adverbs

A. Persons called ἀγακλεής *in the Iliad (does not occur in Odyssey)*

1. Hephaistos in XXI.379: Ἥφαιστε, σχέο, τέκνον ἀγακλεές· οὐ γάρ ἔοικεν — as Hera asks him to quench the fire with which he scorched Xanthos

a 2. Menelaos in
   (a) XVII.716: πάντα κατ' αἶσαν ἔειπες, ἀγακλεὲς ὦ Μενέλαε — Aias replying to Menelaos' statement that they must consider whether to try to save Patroklos' body or flee
   (b) XXIII.529[e]: λείπετ' ἀγακλῆος Μενελάου δουρὸς ἐρωήν — describing how far Meriones is outstripped by Menelaos

3. Priamos in XVI.738: Κεβριόνην, νόθον υἱὸν ἀγακλῆος Πριάμοιο

— as his son Kebriones, Hektor's charioteer is killed by Patroklos

B. Persons and things called ἀγακλυτός in the Iliad and Odyssey

1. Amphimedon in 24.103: παῖδα φίλον Μελανῆος, ἀγακλυτὸν Ἀμφιμέδοντα — as Agamemnon recognizes his ghost in the second Nekyia
2. Eurytion in 21.295[e]-296: οἶνος καὶ Κένταυρον, ἀγακλυτὸν Εὐρυτίωνα / ἄασ' — the Kentaur, whom Antinoos adduces as an example of one befuddled by wine
3. Idomeneus in
   (a) VI.436[c]: ἀμφ' Αἴαντε δύω καὶ ἀγακλυτὸν Ἰδομενῆα — in list Andromache gives of Achaian leaders around whom the bravest (ἄριστοι) fought when trying to storm the wall of Troy
   (b) 14.237[e]: δὴ τότ' ἔμ' ἤνωγον καὶ ἀγακλυτὸν Ἰδομενῆα — Odysseus in false tale telling Eumaios how the Cretans made him and Idomeneus go to Troy

a 4. Odysseus in 8.502[e]: Ἀργεῖοι, τοὶ δ' ἤδη ἀγακλυτὸν ἀμφ' Ὀδυσῆα — in Demodokos' third song, describing how the Argives waited in the wooden horse

5. δώματα in
   (a) 3.388: ἀλλ' ὅτε δώμαθ' ἵκοντο ἀγακλυτὰ τοῖο ἄνακτος — as Pylians and Telemachos arrive back at Nestor's palace from feast on shore
   (b) 3.428: δμωῇσιν κατὰ δώματ' ἀγακλυτὰ δαῖτα πένεσθαι — in a speech by Nestor of instructions for a sacrifice
   (c) 7.3: ἡ δ' ὅτε δὴ οὗ πατρὸς ἀγακλυτὰ δώμαθ' ἵκανε — as Nausikaa arrives at her father Alkinoos' palace
   (d) 7.46: ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ βασιλῆος ἀγακλυτὰ δώμαθ' ἵκοντο — as Athena and Odysseus arrive at Alkinoos' palace

C. Persons and things called ἀγακλειτός in the Iliad and Odyssey

1. Galatea in XVIII.45[c]: Δωρὶς καὶ Πανόπη καὶ ἀγακλειτὴ Γαλάτεια — in catalogue of Nereids who mourn with Thetis for Achilleus
2. Kapaneus in II.564[c]: καὶ Σθένελος Καπανῆος ἀγακλειτοῦ φίλος υἱός — father of Sthenelos, in catalogue of ships

a 3. Penelope in
   (a) 17.370: κέκλυτέ μευ, μνηστῆρες ἀγακλειτῆς βασιλείης —

as the goatherd Melanthios tells the suitors about the beggar
(b) 18.351 = 17.370: as Eurymachos addresses his fellow suitors in making mock of the beggar's baldness
(c) 21.275 = 17.370: as the beggar asks to be allowed to try the bow

4. Thrasymelos in XVI.463: ἔνθ' ἦ τοι Πάτροκλος ἀγακλειτὸν Θρασύμηλον — the comrade of Sarpedon, as Patroklos kills him
5. the Lykian allies in XII.101[c]: Σαρπηδὼν δ' ἡγήσατ' ἀγακλειτῶν ἐπικούρων — in catalogue of Trojan who mass behind Hektor and Poulydamas; cf. E. 4 e below
6. the Trojan gatekeepers in XXI.530: ὀτρύνων παρὰ τεῖχος ἀγακλειτοὺς πυλαωρούς — as Priamos tells them to open the gates for those fleeing Achilleus
7. ἑκατόμβη in
(a) 3.59: σύμπασιν Πυλίοισιν ἀγακλειτῆς ἑκατόμβης — of a particularly splendid sacrificial feast held by Nestor, in Athena's prayer
(b) 7.202: ἡμῖν, εὖτ' ἔρδωμεν ἀγακλειτὰς ἑκατόμβας — of the Phaiakians' sacrificial feasts, at which, Alkinoos says, the gods are accustomed to appear in their own shapes (ἐναργεῖς) [7.201]

D. Persons and animals called τηλεκλυτός in the Iliad and Odyssey

1. τέκνα in XIX.400: Ξάνθε τε καὶ Βαλίε, τηλεκλυτὰ τέκνα Ποδάργης — Achilleus addressing his immortal horses
2. Orestes in 1.30: τὸν ῥ' Ἀγαμεμνονίδης τηλεκλυτὸς ἔκταν' Ὀρέστης — Zeus speaking about Aigisthos whom Orestes slew

* *E. Persons called τηλεκλειτός in the Iliad and Odyssey*

1. Ephialtes in 11.308[c]: Ὦτον τ' ἀντίθεον τηλεκλειτόν τ' Ἐφιάλτην — giant, son of Iphimedeia, in catalogue of fair women
2. Ikarios in 19.546: θάρσει, Ἰκαρίου κούρη τηλεκλειτοῖο — as Odysseus tells Penelope that her dream about the eagle was true

* OCT does not list it, but some mss. write τηλεκλητοί, which LSJ takes simply as a variant spelling, but in all the instances in 4 to print τηλεκλητοί and take it as "summoned from afar," would certainly make better sense.

3. Phoinix in XIV.321[c]: οὐδ' ὅτε Φοίνικος κούρης τηλεκλειτοῖο — father of Europa, in a list recited by Zeus of his mortal mistresses and children
4. the allies of the Trojans in
(a) V.491: ἀρχοὺς λισσομένῳ τηλεκλειτῶν ἐπικούρων — as Sarpedon reminds Hektor that it is his duty to entreat the leaders of the allies to hold firm in battle
(b) VI. 111: Τρῶες ὑπέρθυμοι τηλεκλειτοί τ' ἐπίκουροι — as Hektor appeals to his comrades to fight bravely while he goes to the city
(c) IX.233 = VI.111 (except nominative rather than vocative): as Odysseus tells Achilleus that the Trojan army is camped on the plain
(d) XI.564 = IX.233 (most mss. read πολυηγερέες for τηλεκλειτοί here): as the Trojan army forces Aias to retreat
(e) XII.108[e]: ἔνθ' ἄλλον Τρῶες τηλεκλειτοί τ' ἐπίκουροι — as the bravest of the Trojan army obey the advice of ἀμώμητος Poulydamas: cf. C 5 above

F. ἐϋκλειής (ἐϋκλεής) *in the Iliad and Odyssey* (*always in predicate*)

1. X.281: δὸς δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ νῆας ἐϋκλεῖας ἀφικέσθαι — Odysseus praying that he and Diomedes will return from the night expedition covered in glory
2. XVII.415: ὦ φίλοι, οὐ μὰν ἧμιν ἐϋκλεὲς ἀπονέεσθαι — as the Achaians remind each other, in the struggle over Patroklos' body, that it would be inglorious for them to flee back to the ships
3. 21.331-333: Εὐρύμαχ', οὔ πως ἔστιν ἐϋκλεῖας κατὰ δῆμον / ἔμμεναι οἳ δὴ οἶκον ἀτιμάζοντες ἔδουσιν / ἀνδρὸς ἀριστῆος — Penelope telling the suitors, when they object to letting the beggar try the bow lest his success damage their reputations, that men who dishonor the house of a brave man as they have done, cannot expect a good reputation of any kind

G. Words derived from ἐϋκλειής *in the Iliad and Odyssey*

1. ἐϋκλείη in
(a) VIII.285: τὸν καὶ τηλοθ' ἐόντα ἐϋκλείης ἐπίβησον — Agamemnon urging Teukros during his aristeia to fight well and thus bring his father, distant though he is, into honor
(b) 14.402: ξεῖν', οὕτω γάρ κέν μοι ἐϋκλείη τ' ἀρετή τε —

as Eumaios sarcastically replies to the beggar, who has suggested that, if he has sworn falsely that Odysseus will return, Eumaios can throw him off a cliff

2. ἐϋκλειῶς in XXII.110: ἠέ κεν αὐτῶι ὀλέσθαι ἐϋκλειῶς πρὸ πολῆος — Hektor reminding himself that it would be better to meet Achilleus than to take refuge in Troy, since, even if he is killed, he will die with glory

Predicate adjective ἐϋκλειής (ἐϋκλεής) used	in Iliad:	2
	in Odyssey:	1

Noun ἐϋκλείη used	in Iliad:	1
	in Odyssey:	1
Adverb ἐϋκλειῶς used	in Iliad:	1

Three different attributive epithets, in five forms, all roughly synonymous:

A. ἀγακλεής:

In the Iliad:	3 different persons
	4 instances

Not in the Odyssey		Not in the Odyssey
B — C.	ἀγακλυτός	ἀγακλειτός
In the Iliad:	1 person	3 persons and 2 groups of persons
	1 instance	3 and 2 instances
Totals:	6 different persons or groups of persons	
	6 instances	
In the Odyssey:	4 different persons (one same as in Iliad)	1 person
	4 instances	3 instances
	1 noun not denoting a person	1 noun not denoting a person
	4 instances	2 instances
Totals:	5 different persons (one same as in Iliad, no groups of persons)	
	2 different nouns not denoting persons	
	13 instances	

D —E.	τηλεκλυτός	τηλεκλειτός
In the Iliad:	1 pair of animals	1 person and 1 group of persons
	1 instance	1 and 5 instances
Totals:	1 person, 1 group of persons, 1 pair of animals 7 instances	
In the Odyssey:	1 person	2 persons
	1 instance	2 instances
Totals:	3 different persons 3 instances	

Totals for all epithets:

In the Iliad:	12 different persons or groups of persons (including 1 pair of animals) 17 instances
In the Odyssey:	8 different persons (1 the same as in Iliad) 2 different nouns not denoting persons 16 instances
In both:	19 different persons or groups of persons (including the animals) 2 different nouns not denoting persons 33 instances

List 5, Chap. II, p. 60, n. 1

Adjectives in Homer meaning "famous" compound with prepositions

A. πρόκλυτα (*hapax legomenon*) *in the Iliad*

1. ἔπεα in XX.203-204: ἴδμεν δ' ἀλλήλων γενεήν, ἴδμεν δὲ τοκῆας, / πρόκλυτ' ἀκούοντες ἔπεα θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων — as Aineias tells Achilleus that they know each other's ancestry from hearing epic

B. Passages in the Iliad and Odyssey where Hephaistos is called περικλυτός

1. I.607-608: ἦχι ἑκάστωι δῶμα περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις / Ἥφαιστος ποίησεν — as the gods retire to the houses he has built for each of them

‡ 2. XVIII.383: καλή, τὴν ὄπυιε περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις — as Charis, whom he has married, greets Thetis

‡ 3. XVIII.393: τὴν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις — as he answers Charis after she has announced Thetis' arrival

‡ 4. XVIII.462 = XVIII.393: as he tells Thetis that he will make armor for Achilleus

‡ 5. XVIII.587: ἐν δὲ νομὸν ποίησε περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις — as he puts a grazing meadow on the shield

‡ 6. XVIII.590: ἐν δὲ χορὸν ποίκιλλε περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις — as he puts a dancing floor on the shield

* 7. 8.287: βῆ δ' ἴμεναι πρὸς δῶμα περικλυτοῦ Ἡφαίστοιο — as Ares' goes to Hephaistos' house in his absence

* 8. 8.300: ἀγχίμολον δὲ σφ' ἦλθε περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις — as he returns to catch Aphrodite and Ares in bed

* 9. 8.349: τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις — as he at first refuses Poseidon's request that he let Ares go

* 10. 8.357: τὸν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις — as he agrees to accept Poseidon's surety in case Ares does not pay the adulterer's fine; cf. 3 and 4 above

11. 24.74-75: . . . Διωνύσοιο δὲ δῶρον / φάσκ' ἔμεναι, ἔργον δὲ περικλυτοῦ Ἡφαίστοιο — as Agamemnon in the second Nekyia describes the golden urn, made by Hephaistos, which Thetis brought for the bones of Achilleus

C. Persons and things called περικλυτός *in the Iliad*

1. Antiphos in XI.103-104[e]: ὁ μὲν νόθος ἡνιόχευεν, / Ἄντιφος αὖ παρέβασκε περικλυτός — a son of Priam, as he rides in a chariot beside his bastard brother, just before Agamemnon kills him

** 2. Patroklos in XVIII. 326-327: φῆν δέ οἱ εἰς Ὀπόεντα περικλυτὸν υἱὸν ἀπάξειν / Ἴλιον ἐκπέρσαντα, λαχόντα τε ληΐδος αἶσαν — as Achilleus recalls how he had told Menoitios that he would bring Patroklos back victorious from Troy

3. δῶρα in

(a) VII.299: δῶρα δ' ἄγ' ἀλλήλοισι περικλυτὰ δώομεν ἄμφω — as Hektor, when night interrupts his duel with Aias, suggests that they exchange gifts

‡ In the forging of Achilleus' arms.

* In Demodokos' tale of Ares and Aphrodite.

** In view of line 327 I prefer to take περικλυτόν as predicate with υἱόν rather than as attributive with Ὀπόεντα.

(b) IX.121: ὑμῖν δ' ἐν πάντεσσι περικλυτὰ δῶρ' ὀνομήνω — as Agamemnon says that he will specify the gifts he offers Achilleus

(c) XVIII.449: 'Αργείων, καὶ πολλὰ περικλυτὰ δῶρ' ὀνόμαζον — as Thetis tells Hephaistos how Achilleus refused the embassy

4. ἔργα in VI.324: ἧστο, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι περικλυτὰ ἔργα κέλευε — as Helen sits directing the weaving of her women

D. *Persons and things called* περικλυτός *in the Odyssey*

1. ἀοιδός in

(a) 1.325-326: τοῖσι δ' ἀοιδὸς ἄειδε περικλυτός, οἱ δὲ σιωπῇ / ἥατ' ἀκούοντες — as Phemios sings of the νόστοι to the suitors

(b) 8.83: ταῦτα ἄρ' ἀοιδὸς ἄειδε περικλυτός· αὐτὰρ 'Οδυσσεὺς — Demodokos sings of the quarrel between Achilleus and Odysseus

(c) 8.367 = 8.83: as Deomodokos sings the tale of Ares and Aphrodite

(d) 8.521 = 8.83: as Demodokos sings of the wooden horse

2. ἄστυ in

(a) 4.9: Μυρμιδόνων προτὶ ἄστυ περικλυτόν, οἷσιν ἄνασσε — a city in Phthia (unknown), ruled by Achilleus' son, to which Menelaos sends his daughter

(b) 16.169-170: θάνατον καὶ κῆρ' ἀραρόν τε / ἔρχησθον προτὶ ἄστυ περικλυτόν — as Athena tells Odysseus that he and Telemachos should go from Eumaios' hut after they have planned their revenge on the suitors

(c) 24.153-154: θάνατον κακὸν ἀρτύναντε / ἵκοντο προτὶ ἄστυ περικλυτόν — as Amphimedon tells Agamemnon in the second Nekyia how Odysseus and Telemachos came to the city after they had planned their revenge

πρόκλυτα: 1 instance in Iliad with noun not denoting a person

περικλυτός:

In the Iliad:	6 instances of Hephaistos
	1 instance of a person as an attributive epithet
	1 instance of a person in the predicate (or 1 instance as an attributive epithet with a place)

2 different nouns not denoting a person
4 instances

In the Odyssey: 5 instances of Hephaistos

1 noun denoting a person as a member of a profession (of 2 different bards)
4 instances

1 noun not denoting a person
3 instances

Totals: 11 instances of Hephaistos

4 different persons, including 2 members of the same profession, and one use in the predicate
6 instances

3 different nouns not denoting persons
7 instances

Total instances:		
	Iliad:	12
	Odyssey:	12
		24

List 6, Chap. II, p. 60, n. 1

Adjectives in Homer compounded of κλυτός (κλειτός) + *a noun*

A. Persons called δουρικλειτός *in the Iliad and Odyssey*

a 1. Menelaos in

(a) V.55^{c}: ἀλλά μιν Ἀτρεΐδης δουρικλειτὸς Μενέλαος — as he kills Skamandrios in catalogue of Achaian killings; cf. B. 6 c below

(b) V.578^{e}: τὸν μὲν ἄρ' Ἀτρεΐδης δουρικλειτὸς Μενέλαος — as he kills Pylaimenes, leader of the Paphlagonians

(c) X.230^{c}: ἤθελε δ' Ἀτρεΐδης δουρικλειτὸς Μενέλαος — in list of those who volunteer to accompany Aias on the night expedition

(d) XXIII.355^{ce}: τῶι δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' Ἀτρεΐδης, δουρικλειτὸς Μενέλαος — in list giving the order of the lots for beginning the chariot race

(e) 15.52: ἥρως Ἀτρεΐδης, δουρικλειτὸς Μενέλαος — as Peistratos tells Telemachos to wait until daybreak to leave Sparta, so that Menelaos can send him off properly, with gifts, etc.

(f) 17.116-117: ἀλλά μ' ἐς 'Ατρεΐδην, δουρικλειτὸν Μενέλαον / ἵπποισι προὔπεμψε — as Telemachos tells Penelope that Nestor sent him on to Menelaos

(g) 17.147: ὣς ἔφατ' 'Ατρεΐδης, δουρικλειτὸς Μενέλαος — as Telemachos finishes repeating to Penelope what Menelaos had told him about Odysseus

2. Diomedes in XI.333[e]: τοὺς μὲν Τυδεΐδης δουρικλειτὸς Διομήδης — as he kills the sons of Merops

B. Persons called δουρικλυτός *in the Iliad and Odyssey*

a 1. Achilleus in XXI.233-234: ἦ, καὶ 'Αχιλλεὺς μὲν δουρικλυτὸς ἔνθορε μέσσωι / κρημνοῦ — as he leaps into the river Skamandros

2. Agastrophos in XI.368[e]: ἦ, καὶ Παιονίδην δουρικλυτὸν ἐξενάριζεν — son of Paion, as Diomedes is stripping his armor

3. Aias in XIV.446[e]-447: τὸν μὲν 'Οϊλιάδης δουρικλυτὸς ἐγγύθεν ἐλθὼν / οὖτα — sun of Oileus, as he kills Satnios

4. Automedon in XVI.472: τοῖο μὲν 'Αυτομέδων δουρικλυτὸς εὕρετο τέκμωρ· — as he cuts loose the dead horse Pedasos from the other two

5. Diomedes in

(a) X.109[c]: ἠμὲν Τυδεΐδην δουρικλυτὸν ἠδ' 'Οδυσῆα — in list of those whom Nestor suggests awakening

(d) XXIII.681[e]-682: τὸν μὲν Τυδεΐδης δουρικλυτὸς ἀμφεπονεῖτο / θαρσύνων — as he encourages Euryalos in the boxing match

6. Idomeneus in

(a) II.645[c]: Κρητῶν δ' 'Ιδομενεὺς δουρικλυτὸς ἡγεμόνευεν — in the catalogue of ships

(b) II.650[c]: τῶν μὲν ἄρ' 'Ιδομενεὺς δουρικλυτὸς ἡγεμόνευε — the same

(c) V.45[c]-46: τὸν μὲν ἄρ' 'Ιδομενεὺς δουρικλυτὸς ἔγχεϊ μακρῷ' / νύξ' — as he kills Phaistos, in catalogue of Achaian killings; cf. A. 1 above

(d) XIII.210: 'Ιδομενεὺς δ' ἄρα οἱ δουρικλυτὸς ἀντεβόλησεν — as he meets Poseidon just entering the battle

(e) XIII.467: τὸν δέ τοι 'Ιδομενεὺς δουρικλυτὸς ἐξενάριξεν — as Deiphobos reports to Aineias that Idomeneus has killed Alkathoös, son of Aisyetes

(f) XIII.476: ὣς μένεν 'Ιδομενεὺς δουρικλυτός, οὐδ' ὑπεχώ-

ρει — as he holds his ground against Aineias advancing to avenge Alkathoös

7. Meges in V.72[c]: τὸν μὲν Φυλεΐδης δουρικλυτὸς ἐγγύθεν ἐλθὼν — as he kills Pedaios, a son of Antenor, in catalogue of Achaian killings; cf. A. 1 and 6 c above

a 8. Odysseus in

(a) XI.396-397: ὣς φάτο, τοῦ δ' Ὀδυσεὺς δουρικλυτὸς ἐγγύθεν ἐλθὼν / ἔστη πρόσθ' — as he comes to stand in front of the wounded Diomedes

(b) XI.401-402: οἰώθη δ' Ὀδυσεὺς δουρικλυτός, οὐδέ τις αὐτῶι / Ἀργείων παρέμεινεν — as he is left alone upon Diomedes' retreat

(c) XI.661[c]: οὔτασται δ' Ὀδυσεὺς δουρικλυτὸς ἠδ' Ἀγαμέμνων — in list of wounded chiefs which Nestor recites to Patroklos

(d) XVI.26 = XI.661: the same, as Patroklos repeats the list to Achilleus

9. Peiraios in

(a) 15.544: τὸν δ' αὖ Πείραιος δουρικλυτὸς ἀντίον ηὔδα — as he assures Telemachos that he will entertain Theoklymenos for as long as Telemachos stays with Eumaios

(b) 17.71: τοῖσι δὲ Πείραιος δουρικλυτὸς ἐγγύθεν ἦλθε — as he brings Theoklymenos to the agora in Ithaka

10. Tlepolemos in II.657[c]: τῶν μὲν Τληπόλεμος δουρικλυτὸς ἡγεμόνευεν — in the catalogue of ships

C. Persons called ναυσικλειτός (-κλυτός) *in the Odyssey (does not occur in Iliad)*

1. Dymas in 6.22: εἰδομένη κούρῃ ναυσικλειτοῖο Δύμαντος — Phaiakian, father of Nausikaa's friend whose shape Athena assumes in a dream

a 2. the Phaiakians in

(a) 7.39-40: τὸν δ' ἄρα Φαίηκες ναυσικλυτοὶ οὐκ ἐνόησαν / ἐρχόμενον κατὰ ἄστυ — as they fail to see Odysseus on his way to Alkinoos' palace

(b) 8.190-191: . . . κατὰ δ' ἔπτηξαν ποτὶ γαίῃ / Φαίηκες δολιχήρετμοι, ναυσίκλυτοι ἄνδρες — as they cower away from the rush of the discus Odysseus hurls

(c) 8.369 = 8.191: as they and Odysseus delight in the bard's song

(d) 13.166 = 8.191: as they comment to each other upon seeing the ship which took Odysseus home suddenly turned to stone in their harbor

(e) 16.227-228: Φαίηκές μ' ἄγαγον ναυσίκλυτοι, οἵ τε καὶ ἄλλους / ἀνθρώπους πέμπουσιν — as Odysseus tells Telemachos how he got home

3. the Phoinikians in 15.415: εἴθα δὲ Φοίνικες ναυσίκλυτοι ἤλυθον ἄνδρες — as Eumaios tells Odysseus how he was kidnapped by his nurse on a Phoinikian ship when a child

D. Passages in the Iliad and Odyssey where Hephaistos is called κλυτοεργός *and* κλυτοτέχνης

1. I.571: τοῖσιν δ' Ἥφαιστος κλυτοτέχνης ἦρχ' ἀγορεύειν — as he rises to calm the dispute between Zeus and Hera

+ 2. XVIII.143: εἶμι παρ' Ἥφαιστον κλυτοτέχνην, αἴ κ' ἐθέλῃσιν — as Thetis tells her sisters that she is going to Hephaistos for new armor for Achilleus

+ 3. XVIII.391: κέκλετο δ' Ἥφαιστον κλυτοτέχνην εἰπέ τε μῦθον — as Charis announces Thetis' arrival to him

* 4. 8.286: ὡς ἴδεν Ἥφαιστον κλυτοτέχνην νόσφι κιόντα — as Ares sees him leave his house

* 5. 8.344-345: . . . λίσσετο δ' αἰεὶ / Ἥφαιστον κλυτοεργὸν ὅπως λύσειεν Ἄρηα — as Poseidon entreats him to let Ares go

E. Passages in the Iliad where Hades is called κλυτόπωλος

1. V.654[e]: εὖχος ἐμοὶ δώσειν, ψυχὴν δ' Ἄϊδι κλυτοπώλωι — as Sarpedon threatens Tlepolemos
2. XI.445[e] = V.654: as Odysseus threatens Sokos
3. XVI.625[e]: εὖχος ἐμοὶ δοίης, ψυχὴν δ' Ἄϊδι κλυτοπώλωι — as Meriones taunts Aineias

F. Passages in the Iliad and Odyssey where Apollo is called κλυτότοξος

1. IV.101: εὔχεο δ' Ἀπόλλωνι Λυκηγενέϊ κλυτοτόξωι — as Athena tells Pandaros to pray to Apollo before aiming at Menelaos
2. IV.119: εὔχετο δ' Ἀπόλλωνι Λυκηγενέϊ κλυτοτόξωι — as he does so
3. XV.54-55: καὶ δεῦρο κάλεσσον / Ἶρίν τ' ελθέμεναι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα κλυτότοξον — as Zeus tells Hera to summon Iris and Apollo

+ In the forging of Achilleus' arms.
* In Demodokos' tale of Ares and Aphrodite.

4. 17.494: αἴθ' οὕτως αὐτόν σε βάλοι κλυτότοξος 'Απόλλων — as Penelope prays that Apollo might strike Antinoos in punishment for Antinoos hurling a footstool at the beggar
5. 21.267: ὄφρ' ἐπὶ μηρία θέντες 'Απόλλωνι κλυτοτόξῳ — as Antinoos says that the suitors will try the contest of the bow again the next day after sacrificing to Apollo

Six different adjectives in eight forms (all occurring in the Odyssey, only four adjectives in five forms in the Iliad)

	A. δουρικλειτός	B. δουρικλυτός
In the Iliad:	2 persons 5 instances	9 persons 18 instances
In the Odys.:	1 person (same as 1 in Iliad) 3 instances	1 person 2 instances
Totals:	2 persons 8 instances	10 persons 20 instances

C. ναυσικλειτός, -κλυτός

Not in the Iliad

In the Odyssey: 3 persons or groups of persons
7 instances

D. Ἥφαιστος

In the Iliad:	1 epithet, 3 instances
In the Odyssey:	2 epithets (1 same as in Iliad), 2 instances
Totals:	2 epithets, 5 instances

E. Ἅιδης

In the Iliad: 1 epithet, 3 instances

Not in the Odyssey

F. 'Απόλλω

In the Iliad:	1 epithet, 3 instances
In the Odyssey:	1 epithet (the same), 2 instances
Totals:	1 epithet, 5 instances

For all Adjectives:	14 persons or groups of persons,	35 instances
	3 gods,	13 instances

Total instances:	Iliad:	32
	Odyssey:	16
		48

APPENDIX IV

List 1: Use of μῶμος and related words in authors from Hesiod to Plato
List 2: Use of μῶμος and related words in Hellenistic and later authors
List 3: Use of ἀμύμων, ἄμωμος, and ἀμώμητος in Hesiod and Homerica
List 4: Use of ἀμύμων, ἄμωμος, and ἀμώμητος in late epic
List 5: Use of ἀμύμων, ἄμωμος, and ἀμώμητος in other Greek poetry
List 6: Use of ἀμύμων, ἄμωμος, and ἀμώμητος in inscriptions

List 1, Pp. 29-39

Use of μῶμος and related words in authors from Hesiod to Plato

1. Hesiod

(a) Μῶμον, Theogony 214

In the list of the children of Night, after she produced Death in various guises (Μόρος, Κήρ, and Θάνατος), Sleep, and Dreams, "then next [Night bore] Μῶμος and painful Woe":

δεύτερον αὖ Μῶμον καὶ Οἰζὸν ἀλγινόεσσαν [Theog.214]

Hesiod says nothing else to indicate what he took Μῶμος to mean, but among the other children of Night are Νέμεσις, Deceit and Friendship, all three of which are the products of social relations between men, so that Μῶμος could have much the same meaning as in Homer.

(b) μωμεύειν, Works and Days, 756

Among the unlucky acts one is to avoid is this: "If you come by chance upon sacrifices being burnt, do not μωμεύειν the rites; for the god is angry at this sort of thing too" (a few lines above [737-741] it was said that the gods are angry and cause woes for whoever crosses a river without praying):

. . . μηδ' ἱεροῖσιν ἐπ' αἰθομένοισι κυρήσας
μωμεύειν ἀΐδηλα· θεός νύ τι καὶ τὰ νεμεσσᾷ.
[W. & D.755-756]

Here, although μωμεύειν results in a serious offense against the gods, it is obvious that the verb itself does not mean "charge with a serious crime"; rather, it means "mock or jeer at" or, possibly, "talk critically about."

(c) ἐπιμωμητή, Works and Days, 13

There is not one kind of Strife only on earth, says Hesiod, but "there are two: one a man would praise, if he discerned (her), but the other is ἐπιμωμητή, and they have different natures":

εἰσὶ δύω· τὴν μέν κεν ἐπαινέσσειε νοήσας,
ἡ δ' ἐπιμωμητή· διὰ δ' ἄνδιχα θυμὸν ἔχουσιν.
[W. & D. 12-13]

He goes on to explain that the praiseworthy kind of Strife is rivalry or competition, which wakes even the lazy to action [17-26], while the blameworthy kind nourishes war and struggle [14-16]. This is the earliest example of a usage common later, in which a word connected with μῶμος is a general antonym for a word meaning "praise"; cf. the next item and List 2, § 1 b below

2. Alcman, Partheneion, 44 (Page, *PMG*, 1, p. 3); μωμῆσθαι
The chorus begins to compare the beauty of Agido to the sun, and then breaks off, explaining "but our glorious leader [Hagesichora] will not let me either praise or blame her [Agido]":

ἐμὲ δ' οὔτ' ἐπαινῆν
οὔτε μωμῆσθαί νιν ἁ κλεννὰ χοραγὸς
οὐδ' ἁμῶς ἐῆι. [43-45]

Here μωμῆσθαι is obviously the antonym of "to praise," although there may be an overtone of an original meaning "to point out a physical flaw."

3. Semonides of Amorgos, Poem 7, lines 84, 105, 113
(a) μῶμος
In his poem on women and marriage, the only kind of woman for whom Semonides has a good word, is the one whom the gods made from a bee, "for on her alone μῶμος does not settle":

κείνηι γὰρ οἴηι μῶμος οὐ προσιζάνει [84]

His reasons are that she is loving, kindly, brings up her children well, "and does not delight in sitting among women where they gossip about sex":

οὐδ' ἐν γυναιξὶν ἥδεται καθημένη,
ὅκου λέγουσι ἀφροδισίους λόγους. [90-91]

In view of these lines, μῶμος in 84 may be close to the

Homeric meaning, although it may also mean simply that there is no fault to find in such a woman.

(b) μῶμον

His approval is short-lived, however, and he quickly returns to his main themes, that women are the greatest evil that Zeus made for man, and that no husband can be happy. Among the other deficiencies of wives, he says, is that just when a man is feeling happy at some stroke of good luck or some kindness from men, his wife "finding a μῶμος, arms for battle":

εὑροῦσα μῶμον ἐς μάχην κορύσσεται. [105]

In view of the verb, "finding," μῶμος here evidently retains some of its concrete sense of "flaw," but it is closer to the later meaning of "petty criticism," for it is clear from the context that the wife unnecessarily finds something to object to in the event which has pleased her husband.

(c) μωμήσεται

Lasty, Semonides says, "each man praises his own wife when he mentions her, and criticizes the wife of another, but we do not realize that we (all) have the same lot":

τὴν ἣν δ' ἕκαστος αἰνέσει μεμνημένος
γυναῖκα, τὴν δὲ τοὐτέρου μωμήσεται·
ἴσην δ' ἔχοντες μοῖραν οὐ γιγνώσκομεν. [112-114]

Here the antinomy found also in Alcman is generalized, so that μωμῆσθαι means "to find (any kind of) fault," "to criticize" in any respect.

4. Simonides of Ceos, To Skopas, lines 24, 33, 37 (Page, *PMG*, 542, pp. 282-283)

(a) πανάμωμον

Simonides, as quoted by Plato in the Protagoras 339A-347A, first says how hard it is to find a truly good man, one who is "four-square in hands and feet and mind, built without a flaw (ψόγου)":

χέρσιν τε καὶ ποσὶ καὶ νόωι
τετράγωνον ἄνευ ψόγου τετυγμένον [2-3]

After remarking that men are good in good fortune, and bad in bad, and that no man has good fortune all the time, he

says that he will not waste his time in the hopeless quest for "a completely faultless man":

πανάμωμον ἄνθρωπον . . . [24]

In view of the first lines quoted, -αμωμος in πανάμωμος obviously includes a reference to physical beauty, as well as meaning "undeserving of criticism" in general.

(b) φιλόμωμος

Simonides justifies his previous refusals to expect goodness in men by remarking "for I am not fault-loving":

οὐκ εἰμὶ γὰρ φιλόμωμος· [33]*

Here, obviously, μῶμος means not a fault itself, but the process of looking for faults, criticism, so that the compound means "overly-critical" or, taking it as a substantive, "a fault-finder."

(c) μωμήσομαι

It is enough for me, Simonides continues, if some one is, though not good, yet not too wicked, and has some sense of civic justice, "a sound man, and I will not criticize him":

ὑγιὴς ἀνήρ· οὐδὲ μή μιν ἐγὼ
μωμήσομαι. [36-37]‡

Again it is clear that the verb means "to blame" generally, particularly to find minor faults in someone or something.

5. Theognis, Gnomology, lines 169, 369, 875, 1079, 1184 (Young)

(a) μωμεύμενος

"Even a scoffer praises (a man) whom the gods honor":

ὅν δὲ θεοὶ τιμῶσιν, ὁ καὶ μωμεύμενος αἰνεῖ [169]

Here μωμεύω seems to have much the same meaning as in 1 b above.

(b) μωμεῦνται

Theognis complains that he cannot please his fellow citizens, whether he does them good or harm, "and many find fault with me, both noble and base":

μωμεῦνται δέ με πολλοί, ὁμῶς κακοὶ ἠδὲ καὶ ἐσθλοί [369]

* This statement is in the Protagoras, 346C, and is printed by some editors as part of Simonides' poem. Page brackets, prints in smaller type, and reads φιλόψογος.

‡ This is Bergk's emendation. Page prints οὐ †μὴν† ἐγώ.

Here the verb may mean "mock at" personally, or "criticize" his poetry, for he adds that none of the unlearned (τῶν ἀσόφων) can imitate him [370].

(c) μωμήσαιτο

Theognis addresses Wine, saying that in part he praises (αἰνῶ) it, in part criticizes (μέμφομαι), and that he cannot wholly either like or hate it. "You are good and bad. Who would find fault with you, and who praise you, if he had a measure of wisdom?":

> ἐσθλὸν καὶ κακόν ἐσσι. τίς ἄν σέ τε μωμήσαιτο,
> τίς δ' ἂν ἐπαινήσηι μέτρον ἔχων σοφίης; [875-876]

Cf. above 1c, 2, 3c, and 5a.

(d) μωμήσομαι

"I will criticize none of my enemies who is noble, nor will I praise a friend who is base":

> οὐδένα τῶν ἐχθρῶν μωμήσομαι ἐσθλὸν ἐόντα,
> οὐδὲ μὲν αἰνήσω δειλὸν ἐόντα φίλον [1079-1080]

(e) μῶμος

"Kyrnus, the rays of the sun who brings light to mortals do not look down on any man over whom μῶμος does not hang":

> οὐδένα, Κύρν', αὐγαὶ φαεσιμβρότου ἠελίοιο
> ἄνδρ' ἐφορῶσ', ὧι μὴ μῶμος ἐπικρέμαται [1183-1184]

Here μῶμος seems to include both the flaws (physical and moral) that no man is free from (cf. 4a above) and the criticisms that any man is likely to get, whether he deserves them or not (cf. 5b above). For the verb "hang over" cf. 6a below.

6. Pindar, Olympia VI.74, Pythia I.82, Fr. 181 (174) (Snell, *PC*, p. 129)

(a) μῶμος

In speaking of those victorious in the chariot-race, Pindar says that over them "especially, the criticism of the envious hangs":

> μῶμος ἐξ ἄλλων κρέμαται φθονέοντων [*O*.VI.74]

Here, even more clearly than in 3b, 5b, and 5e above, μῶμος means "petty carping," "undeserved criticism"; it also preserves the Homeric overtone of general, public talk.

(b) μῶμος

Pindar remarks that if one speaks moderately and compresses one's praise, less μῶμος of men follows":

. . . μείων ἕπεται μῶμος ἀνθρώπων . . . [*P*.I.82]

Here the envious criticism aroused by success in the games is transferred to the poet who praises a victor too lavishly.

(c) μῶμον

"Praise for one's deeds is mingled with blame":

ὁ γὰρ ἐξ οἴκου ποτὶ μῶμον ἔπαινος κίρναται [fr. 181]

If one takes ἐξ οἴκου as meaning the same thing as οἴκοθεν in Pindar (cf., e.g. N.VII.50-52), μῶμος here again refers to the criticism of the envious which the victor undeservingly receives along with the praise which he earns by his success.

7. Bacchylides, Epinikion 13 (12), For Pytheas of Aigina (Snell, *B*., p. 48), 202; μῶμος

Bacchylides advises anyone who is not constrained by envy (φθόνος; cf. 6a above) to praise (αἰνέτω) a wise man rightly, for "there is μῶμος in all the works of men, but the truth usually wins out":

. . . βροτῶν δὲ μῶμος
πάντεσσι μέν ἐστιν ἐπ' ἔργοις·
ἁ δ' ἀλαθεία φιλεῖ
νικᾶν. [202-206]

Here μῶμος means "something to criticize," "some (minor) flaw with which one can find fault"; cf. 4a above

8. Aeschylus

(a) μωμητός, Seven Against Thebes, 508

Eteokles says that Hyperbios is "μωμητός neither in appearance, nor in spirit, nor in soldierly skill":

οὔτ' εἶδος οὔτε θυμὸν οὐδ' ὅπλων σχέσιν
μωμητός. [507-508]

Here μωμητός combines the ideas of "having a (minor) flaw" and, therefore, of "being subject to criticism."

(b) ἐμωμήσω, Agamemnon, 277

After the chorus has doubted the truth of Klytaimnestra's announcement of the fall of Troy, suggesting that some

baseless rumor puffed up her mind, she answers, "you strongly ἐμωμήσω my wits as if of a young child":

παιδὸς νέας ὣς καρτ' ἐμωμήσω φρένας [277]

On the superficial level, the verb here means "you have found fault with, criticized," with the not uncommon implication that the criticism is unjustified. N.B.: the verb is singular in form, but refers to the reactions of the chorus of elders.

9. Sophocles, Fragment 257 (Pearson, I, p. 193); μῶμος

In a fragment of the lost play Thyestes, a character says, "let us go as quickly as possible, for no μῶμος ever attaches to justified haste":

ὥς, νῶν τάχυς στείχωμεν· οὐ γὰρ ἐσθ' ὅπως
σπουδῆς δικαίας μῶμος ἅψεταί ποτε [fr. 257]

Here the petty nature of the kind of criticism meant by μῶμος is particularly clear, while a vestige of its original meaning "(physical) flaw" perhaps lingers in the verb "is attached to."

10. Timotheus, Dithyramb (Page, *PMG*, 791.210, p. 412); μώμωι

Timotheus appeals to Paion to help him against the people of Sparta, for "the inflamed populace drives and scourges [me] with fiery μῶμος because I dishonor the older muse with new songs":

δονεῖ λαὸς ἐπιφλέγων
ἐλᾶι τ' αἴθοπι μώμωι
ὅτι παλαιοτέραν νέοις
ὕμνοις μοῦσαν ἀτιμῶ. [209-212]

Timotheus, who prided himself on his poetic originality (cf. Page, 796) seems to exaggerate the "fiery μῶμος" of the citizens of Sparta. For μῶμος as "criticism of poetry," cf. above 5 b and 6 b.

11. Herodotos, Histories, II.177.2 and III.82.2
(a) ἀμώμωι

Herodotos mentions a law which required citizens to specify their means of livelihood. He says that Solon established it

for the Athenians, having gotten it from Egypt, and that the Athenians "still use it, for it is an ἀμώμος law":

τῶι ἐκεῖνοι ἐς αἰεὶ χρέωνται, ἐόντι ἀμώμωι νόμωι

[II.177.2]

Here ἄμωμος seems to mean "such that no objection can be made to it," that is, "good, useful" in a very general sense.

(b) ἀμωμητῶς

In the debate which Herodotus says that the Persians had about the best form of government, Darius votes for monarchy as the best form, on the grounds that a single man who is of the best character (ἄριστος) would, in accordance with his own nature, "govern the people ἀμωμητῶς":

ἐπιτροπεύει ἄν ἀμωμητῶς τοῦ πλήθεος [III.82.2]

Here ἀμωμητῶς may mean "in such a way that no objection could be made," or it may, more generally, be a synonym for ἀρίστως = in the best way, parallel to ἄριστος used of the monarch.

* 12. Aristophanes, Birds, 171; μωμᾶι

When Peisthetairos makes his suggestion that the birds found a single πόλις, he begins by criticizing birds for flying around with their beaks gaping, which, he says, makes them despised and a symbol of flightiness. The hoopoe (Epsos) replies, "By Dionysus, well do you μωμᾶι these things":

νὴ τὸν Διόνυσον, εὖ γε μωμᾶι ταυταγί. [171]

Here the phrase εὖ γε μωμᾶι means "your criticism is well-taken" in contrast to the frequent implication that μῶμος is unjustified but the passage makes especially clear that μῶμος did not mean "a serious accusation."

13. Plato, Republic, 487 A; Μῶμος

In book VI Socrates asks if there is any way to object to (μέμψηι) a pursuit which requires a combination of all virtues, and Glaucon replies: "'Not even Μῶμος,' he said, 'would find fault with (μέμψαιτο) such (a pursuit)'":

"οὐδ' ἄν ὁ Μῶμος," ἔφη, "τό γε τοιοῦτον μέμψαιτο"

[487 A]

* Aristophanes also has ἀμώμητος, but only in a quotation of Archilochus' poem on the shield (see p. 84) [Peace 1299].

This is the earliest instance of an adage, common later (see List 2 below), in which Μῶμος is personified as the god of carping criticism.

Noun:	μῶμος: 11 instances	
Verbs:	(a) μωμεύω: 3 instances	
	(b) μωμάομαι (μωμέομαι): 7 instances	
Adjectives:	(a) ἄμωμος: 1 instance (cf. IV, List 2, 3, 5)	
	(b) ἐπιμωμητός: 1 instance (cf. IV, List 2)	
	(c) μωμητός: 1 instances (cf. IV, List 2)	
	(d) πανάμωμος: 1 instance	
	(e) φιλόμωμος: 1 instance	
Adverb:	ἀμωμητῶς: 1 instance	
Totals:	Noun (singular only)	11 instances
	2 verbs (various forms)	10 instances
	5 adjectives (2 of them occurring in Greek only once each)	5 instances
	1 adverb	1 instance
	13 different authors	
	27 instances	

List 2, Chap. II, pp. 29-39

Use of μῶμος *and related words in Hellenistic and later authors*

1. Theocritus, Idylls IX.24 and XXVI.38

(a) μωμάσατο

Theocritus describes a staff which has grown by itself (αὐτοφυῆ) into the right shape as one "which not even a carpenter might find fault with":

αὐτοφυῆ, τὰν οὐδ' ἂν ἴσως μωμάσατο τέκτων [IX.24]

Here the original meaning of μῶμος, "physical flaw," is still evident; cf. 12 a below.

(b) ἐπιμωματόν

After describing how Semele and her sisters tore Pentheus apart, Theocritus bids farewell to these women "who, urged on by Dionysos, did this deed which is not ἐπιμωματόν; let no one censure the acts of the gods":

αἳ τόδε ἔργον ἔρεξαν ὀρίναντος Διονύσω
οὐκ ἐπιμωματόν· μηδεὶς τὰ θεῶν ὀνόσαιτο [XXVI.37-38]

Here επιμωματόν clearly refers not to the nature of the deed itself, since it is a horrible one, but to the fact that it is one which it would be dangerous to censure because by doing so one might incur the displeasure of Dionysos, who inspired it. Cf. List 1, 1 c above; these are the only two occurrences of ἐπιμωματός in Greek, and they are the only two instances of a word derived from μῶμος which have any connection with a person (taking Eris as personified) or act which involves violence and thus deserves serious censure.

2. Lycophron, Alexandra, 1134; μῶμαρ

Lycophron speaks of girls refusing as bridegrooms men "who have a defect (σίφλον) of form or blemish (μῶμαρ) of birth":

μόρφης ἔχοντας σίφλον ἢ μῶμαρ γένους [1134]

Μῶμαρ as a poetic variant of μῶμος in the sense "something to which one can object" apparently occurs only here in extant Greek literature; see p. 72.

3. Callimachus, Hymns II (to Apollo).113 and III (to Artemis).222; Fragments of epigrams 393 (Pfeiffer, I, p. 323)

(a) Μῶμος

Near the end of the hymn is a parable of Apollo spurning Envy (Φθόνος) into a river, when Envy objects to short poems (such as Callimachus wrote). The last line is: "Farewell, lord; and let Μῶμος dwell where Φθόνος (dwells)":

χαῖρε, ἄναξ· ὁ δὲ Μῶμος, ἵν' ὁ Φθόνος, ἔνθα νέοιτο [II.113]

For the use of μῶμος in reference to criticism of poetry, cf. List 1 5 b, 6 b, and 10.

(b) μωμήσασθαι

Callimachus says of the Centaurs who insulted Atalanta and were shot by her: "I do not expect that Hylaios and foolish Rhoikos, even though hating [Atalanta], find fault with her archery in Hades":

οὐδὲ μὲν Ὑλαῖόν τε καὶ ἄφρονα Ῥοῖκον ἔολπα
οὐδέ περ ἐχθαίροντας ἐν Ἄϊδι μωμήσασθαι
τοξότιν. [III.221-223]

The sarcastic tone in this use of a verb derived from μῶμος is not precisely paralleled elsewhere, but is natural and comprehensible in relation to the normal usages.

(c) Μῶμος

"Μῶμος himself wrote on the walls 'Κρόνος is wise'":

. . . αὐτὸς ὁ Μῶμος
ἔγραφεν ἐν τοίχοις "ὁ Κρόνος ἐστὶ σοφός" [Fr. 393.1-2]

The god Μῶμος (cf. List 1, 13 above and below 8 ii) is represented as the lover of Kronos, a nickname for Diodoros of Iasos, a philosopher (with a pun on Kronos = *homo prae senio delirans*, as Pfeiffer puts it, *ad loc.*)

4. Palatine Anthology, XI.321; Μῶμος

Philippus addresses grammarians as children of Stygian Μῶμος, devourers of thorns (i.e. difficult passages):

γραμματικοί, Μώμου στυγίου τέκνα, σῆτες ἀκανθῶν
[XI.321.1]

For another epigram on the niggling criticism of grammarians see XI.322, by Antiphanes.

5. Planudean Anthology, IV.265 and 266 (Paton, pp. 316-317)

(a) Μῶμον and ἀμωμήτοις

The epigram begins by asking "Who was it who with ἀμώμητος hands fashioned Μῶμος, that perennial complainer about good things, the thrice-accursed?":

τίς τὸν ἐπ' ἐσθλοῖσιν παμπενθέα καὶ τρισάλαστον
Μῶμον ἀμωμήτοις χερσὶν ἀνεπλάσατο; [265.1-2]

Then Μῶμος is pictured as an old man, with a double row of teeth gnashing at the good fortune of neighbors and, finally, described as "senselessly hating the inanimate rock":

κωφὰ πρὸς ἄψυχον πέτρον ἀπεχθόμενος [265.10]

This picture is simply a rhetorical exaggeration of the proverbial Μῶμος, god of constant carping. In ἀμωμήτοις there is a pun on the original sense of "physically faultless, beautiful" and on the the late meaning "undeserving of blame" (see 6 below), used sarcastically, for the hands that are, physically faultless are blamed, by implication, for fashioning the statue of Μῶμος.

(b) Μῶμε

This epigram, like the last, is addressed to a statue of Μῶμος, and says much the same kind of thing, in reverse order. It begins with a command: "Waste away, all-devouring Μῶμος, starting with your wretched nails. Waste away, gnashing your venomous jaws":

> τάκεο δυστάνων ὀνύχων ἄπο, πάμφαγε Μῶμε,
> τάκεο σὺ πρίων ἰυβόλους γένυας. [IV.266.1-2]

It ends by asking, "Who fashioned you skillfully (τέχναι) a living ravager of men?" [IV.266.7].

6. Longinus, On the Sublime, 33.5; ἀμώμητος

Longinus argues that, in literature, greatness with some failures (μέγεθος ἐν ἐνίοις διημαρτημένοις) is better than something limited which never fails (ἀδιάπτωτον). He uses as an example the Erigone of Eratosthenes, of which he says somewhat disparagingly, "the little poem is quite ἀμώμητος":

> διὰ πάντων γὰρ ἀμώμητος τὸ ποιημάτιον [33.5]

"But," he concludes, "who would not prefer Archilochos?" Here ἀμώμητος means both "without flaw" and, therefore, "irreproachable": see 5a above, and cf. μωμητός with a negative in Aeschylus (List 1, 8a and 8A below).

7. Plutarch, Moralia 820 A; μώμου

Plutarch recommends that we should moderate our ambition, "saying that in ourselves we have honor, a gold uncorrupted and pure and undefiled by envy (φθόνος) and criticism":

> λέγοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἔχειν χρυσὸν ἀδιάφθορον καὶ ἀκήρατον καὶ ἄχραντον ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ μώμου τίμην.
> [M.820A]

Here μῶμος is the expression of φθόνος, in the form of carping criticism or disparagement; cf. List 1, § 6a and § 3a above.

8. Lucian (volume, page and section references below are to Loeb Classical Library, except for §a which is Jacobitz)

(A) Alexander the False Prophet (*Pseudomantis*), 210 (II, p. 115); μωμητός

First Lucian describes the looks of the prophet—he is tall,

handsome, has a sweet voice, etc.; he sums up: "and in short he was in no respect μωμητός as far as *these* things go":

καὶ ὅλως οὐδαμόθεν μωμητὸς ἦν ταῦτα γε [Alex.210]

Here μωμητός is used as in Aeschylus (List I, 8a), with references both to having a flaw and being subject to criticism for it, except that the reference is more exclusively physical. Lucian uses the praise of Alexander's physical attributes ("these things") as foil for his soul (ψυχή) and beliefs (γνωμή), which he goes on to criticize at length.

(B) Μῶμος: Lucian often refers to Μῶμος, personified as a god.

(b) Dionysus 8 (I, 58): Μῶμον

At the end of his account of Dionysus in India, Lucian describes how in India old men get drunk by drinking water from the spring of Silenos and talk endlessly. He closes by saying: "(By relating) these things in accordance with Μῶμος (i.e. in satirizing the old men), the joke is on me . . . for you see already how I resemble the fable":

ταῦτά μοι κατὰ τὸν Μῶμον εἰς ἐμαυτὸν ἀπεσκώφθω . . .
ὁρᾶτε γὰρ ἤδη καθ' ὅ τι τωι μύθωι ἔοικα. [*Bacc.*.8]

(b) The Wisdom of Nigrinus 32 (I, 131); Μώμου

Nigrinus (a philosopher, perhaps fictional) is quoted as making a comment in which "he spoke, just imitating the remark of Μῶμος, for just as he (Μῶμος) found fault with (ἐμέμφετο) the god who made the bull for not putting the horns below their eyes, so he (Nigrinus) criticized (ἠιτιᾶτο) those wearing garlands" (for wearing them on their heads, instead of under their noses, where they could smell them; cf. below):

ἔλεγεν ἀτεχνῶς τοῦ Μώμου τὸν λόγον μιμησάμενος· ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐμέμφετο τοῦ ταύρου τὸν δημιουργὸν θεὸν οὐ προθέντα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὰ κέρατα, οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἠιτιᾶτο τῶν στεφανουμένων. [*Nigr.* 32]

(c) A True Story ii. 3 (I, 306); Μῶμος

In his parody of tall travellers-tales, Lucian speaks of shooting two wild bulls on an island, "and these bulls had their horns not on their heads, but under their eyes, just as Μῶμος thought they should" (cf. b above):

οἱ δὲ ταῦροι οὗτοι τὰ κέρατα οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς εἶχον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, ὥσπερ ὁ Μῶμος ἠξίου.

[*Ver. Hist.* ii. 3]

(d) Zeus Rants 19-31, 42-45, 50 (II, 118-134, 154-158, 164); Μῶμος

Zeus, disturbed by having heard some philosophers in Athens arguing that the gods either do not exist or do not care for men, calls the gods together to discuss the matter. The others are silent, but Μῶμος gladly tells them that such opinions are the natural result of the foolish and wicked ways in which the gods regularly behave. Later, as the gods comment on the renewed philosophical arguments going on below them, he contributes a few further remarks. The following quotations show the nature of Μῶμος especially clearly. Μῶμος himself admits that he has never been honored by men (with sacrifices, etc.): οὐδὲ γὰρ πάλαι τῶν τιμωμένων ἦν [*Iup. Tr.* 22] Later Zeus says, "Let's ignore his ravings—he's always harsh and critical": τοῦτον μέν, ὦ θεοί, ληρεῖν ἐάσωμεν ἀεὶ τραχὺν ὄντα καὶ ἐπιτιμητικόν [Iup. *Tr.* 23]. When the gods are eavesdropping on the men's discussion and Μῶμος says "I told you so," Zeus admits that he was right (καὶ ἐπετίμας ὀρθῶς) [*Iup. Tr.* 42], but Apollo objects that Μῶμος criticizes beyond measure: σὺ ἡμᾶς ἐπισφάττεις, ὦ Μῶμε, οὐκ ἐν καιρωι νῦν ἐπιτιμῶν [*Iup. Tr.* 43].

(e) Icaromenippus, or the Sky-Man 31 (II, 318); Μῶμος

In this dialogue a philosopher (indefinite) is made by Zeus to describe himself (with pride) as shouting and going around barefoot, in dirty rags; and "like Μῶμος I carp at the things done by others":

ὥσπερ ὁ Μῶμος τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων γιγνόμενα συκοφαντῶ

[*Icar.* 31]

(f) The Judgement of the Goddesses 2 (III, 384); Μῶμος, μωμήσαιτο

When Zeus tells Aphrodite, Athena, and Hera to let Paris settle their dispute as to which is the most beautiful, Aphrodite replies: "As far as I'm concerned, Zeus, you could appoint Μῶμος himself to be the judge, and I would go con-

fidently to the trial. For what could even he find fault with (μωμήσαιτο) in me?":

> ἐγὼ μέν, ὦ Ζεῦ, εἰ καὶ τὸν Μῶμον αὐτὸν ἐπιστήσειας ἡμῖν δικαστήν, θαρροῦσα βαδιοῦμαι πρὸς τὴν ἐπίδειξιν· τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ μωμήσαιτό μου; [*D.Deor.* 20.2]

Note that the flaws from which Aphrodite is free are physical ones.

(g) The Parliament of the Gods 1-19 (V, 418-440); Μῶμος

In this Dialogue Zeus invites the gods to consider the problem of purging Olympus of alien gods. Μῶμος is the only one who takes up the invitation, and he speaks very critically of the gods along the same lines as in Zeus Rants (d above), not hesitating to attack Zeus himself [*Deor. conc.* 6-8]. Zeus does not defend himself, but tells Μῶμος not to say anything about Ganymedes, "for I shall get angry if you hurt the boy's feelings by casting aspersions on his birth":

> μηδὲν περὶ τοῦ Γανυμήδους, ὦ Μῶμε, εἴπῃς· χαλεπανῶ γὰρ εἰ λυπήσεις τὸ μειράκιον ὀνειδίσας ἐς τὸ γένος
> [*Deor. conc.* 8]

(h) How to write History 33 (VI. 48); Μῶμος, μωμήσασθαι

The speaker, having discoursed at length on how *not* to write history, imagines someone saying that now he should create something to show that he can not only indulge in destructive criticism, but can also invent something skillful "which no one, not even Μῶμος, could find fault with (μωμήσασθαι)" (cf. f above and List 1, 13):

> ὃ οὐδεὶς ἄν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὁ Μῶμος, μωμήσασθαι δύναιτο
> [*Hist. Consc.* 33]

(i) Hermotimus 20 (VI, 296-297); Μῶμος, Μῶμον

In this dialogue, between a Skeptic and a Stoic philosopher, the Skeptic says: "I suppose you have heard the kind of thing Μῶμος criticized (ᾐτιάσατο) in Hephaistos?":

> ὁ γοῦν Μῶμος ἀκήκοας οἶμαι ἅτινα ᾐτιάσατο τοῦ Ἡφαίστου
> [*Herm.* 20]

Without waiting for an answer he describes how, when Poseidon had made a bull (cf. s b and c above), Athena a

house, and Hephaistos a man, they brought their handiwork to Momos (ἐπὶ τὸν Μῶμον), so that he could judge which was the best artist (cf. 9 below). The Skeptic does not bother with the criticisms which he (Μῶμος) made (ᾐτιάσατο) of the first two, but says that he found fault with (ἐμέμψατο) Hephaistos for not having put doors in the man's chest so that others could see what he was thinking and know whether he was telling the truth or lying. "Now he," the Skeptic continues with heavy sarcasm, "short-sighted as he was, noticed these things about men":

> ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ἅτε ἀμβλυώττων οὕτω περὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διενοεῖτο [*Herm.* 20]

But the Stoic thinks that he can judge from external appearances what men are thinking and which is better and which worse.

9. Babrius, Fables, 59. 6 and 18 (Crusius); Μῶμος, μώμωι

Babrius tells the same story as Lucian (8i above), (except that he substitutes Zeus for Hephaistos) and describes how "Μῶμος was chosen by them as judge, for he was still living among the gods":

> . . . ᾑρέθη τούτοις
> κριτὴς ὁ Μῶμος· ἔτι γὰρ ἐν θεοῖς ᾤκει [5-6]

He (Μῶμος) criticizes all three creations "because he was born hating everything"—ὡς πέφυκε πάντας ἐχθραίνων [7]—and Zeus exiles him from Olympus. The moral is that one should not let envy (φθόνος) judge what one tries to do, for "absolutely nothing is acceptable to μῶμος":

> ἀρεστὸν ἁπλῶς οὐδέν ἐστι τῶι μώμωι [187]

Here the fact that μῶμος often means unjustified fault-finding is particularly clear.

10. Artemidoros of Daldis, Oneirocritica, V.67

(a) ἐπίμωμος

One of the dreams which Artemidorus interprets runs thus: A man dreamed that he was holding a barber's mirror, and he saw his own image all covered with spots (σπίλων). This man had a mistress whom he had taken by force, "and they

had a child, ἐπίμωμος not only on account of his birth, but also because he was cross-eyed (or wall-eyed)":

> παῖς ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς ἐπίμωμος οὐ διὰ τὸ γένος μόνον, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ διάστροφος ἦν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. [V.67]

Here ἐπίμωμος, like μωμητός in Aeschylus (see List 1, 8a) combines the ideas of having a physical flaw and being subject to reproach; cf. b below.

(b) ἄμωμος

In his interpretation of this dream, Artemidoros explains that when the man saw his own image, "it was his child," like him in other respects, but not ἄμωμος, because he also had spots (σπίλους)":

> τὰ <μὲν> ἄλλα ὅμοιος, οὐκ ἄμωμος δέ, ὅτι καὶ σπίλους εἶχεν [V.67]

Here ἄμωμος is used not as it is in poetry, but as the antonym of ἐπίμωμος in the double sense that it has above; σπίλους is also used in a double sense of "physical spot" and "moral stain."

11. Heliodoros of Emesa, Aithiopica, VII.2; ἐπίμωμος

A character in this novel, Arsake, is described as beautiful and tall (καλή τε καὶ μεγάλη), etc. "but otherwise ἐπίμωμος in her life":

> ἄλλως δὲ τὸν βίον ἐπίμωμος. [VII.2]

Here ἐπίμωμος is used in the sense "deserving of reproach," or "subject to gossip," for Heliodoros goes on to say that Arsake was given to illicit and intemperate pleasures, and also had been partly responsible for a man's exile from Memphis.

12. Dionysius Periegetes, 342 and 896

(a) μωμήσαιτο

Dionysius speaks of the Apennine range as bisecting Italy as if by a carpenter's rule, so that "an experienced servant of skillful Athena would not find fault with it":

> . . . οὐκ ἂν ἐκεῖνο
> ἴδρις μωμήσαιτο σοφῆς ὑποεργὸς Ἀθήνης [342]

This use of the verb is similar to that in Theocritus (see 1 a above).

(b) ἐπιμωμήσαιτο

At another point in his geographical poem, Dionysius claims that "no man would ἐπιμωμήσαιτο my story as (being) a lie":

. . . οὐδ' ἄν ἔμοιγε
μύθου ἅτε ψευσθέντος ἀνὴρ ἐπιμωμήσαιτο. [896]

The compound verb here seems no different from the simple in the sense of "find fault with, criticize"; cf., e.g., List 1 8 b, and 8 h above.

13. "Hermes Trismegistus" in Stobaeus I, xl, 1 (Festugière, III, p. 56); ἄμωμα, ἐπίμωμα

One of the fragments reads "all things in heaven are ἄμωμα, all on earth ἐπίμωμα":

πάντα τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄμωμα, πάντα τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς ἐπίμωμα. [XI (29)]

For this use of ἄμωμος and ἐπίμωμος as antonyms, with a double reference, concrete and abstract, see Artemidorus, 10 a and b above.

Note: Other words derived from μῶμος, such as ἀμωμοτής, μωμαίνω, μωμητής, μωμητικός, μώμιμος, μώμηλος, μώμημα, μώμησις and μωμήτεον are used sporadically in late, largely technical, Greek writings; for references see LSJ. Also, Cicero uses μῶμος once in his Letters (*Ad Atticum*, V. 20.6) in the usual sense of "carping criticism." Μωμοσκοπός is used of looking for blemishes in sacrificial victims, and ἄμωμος and ἀμώμητος occur a number of times in the Old and New Testaments and in Philo Judaeus.

Nouns:	(a)	μῶμος:	17 instances (including the 9 instances in which Μῶμος is a character in Lucian's dialogues)
	(b)	μῶμαρ:	1 instance
Verbs:	(a)	μωμάομαι (μωμέομαι):	5 instances
	(b)	ἐπιμωμάομαι:	1 instance
Adjectives:	(a)	ἀμώμητος:	2 instances (cf. Appendix IV, Lists 3-5)
	(b)	ἄμωμος:	2 instances (cf. IV, Lists 1, 3, 5)
	(c)	ἐπιμωμητός:	1 instance (cf. IV, List 1)
	(d)	ἐπίμωμος:	3 instances
	(e)	μωμητός:	1 instance (cf. IV, List 1)

Totals:	Nouns (singular only):	18 instances
	2 verbs (various forms):	6 instances
	5 different adjectives (2 same as in List 4, 2 others same as in Lists 1-3):	9 instances
	13 different authors	
	33 instances	

List 3, pp. 71-71

* *Use of* ἀμύμων, ἄμωμος, *and* ἀμώμητος *in Hesiod and Homerica*

	ἀμύμων	ἄμωμος	ἀμώμητος
∔ *I. Hesiod*			
A. Theogony:	1) 263 Nereus 264 ἔργα 3) 654 Kottos. 4) 1013 Latinus.	5) 259 Euarne	—
B. Catalogues of Women and Eoiae	1) fr. 19a. 14 ?Sarpedon 2) fr. 63 Asklepios, 3) fr. 68.11 ἔργα, 4) Ox. Pap. 1359 fr. 3 Loeb, p. 608, v. 22 ? Hyakinthos	—	5) fr. 68.55 Aias
C. Shield of Herakles	1) v. 65 Kyknos, 2) v. 112 Amphitryon	—	3) v. 102 Iolaos,
D. Doubtful fragment	—	—	1) 10, p. 282 Melanippe
II. Epic Cycle			
Oidipodia	Fr. 3, p. 482 Kreion	—	—
III. Homeric Hymns			
A. To Demeter	II.154 Eumolpos	—	—

* Passages are cited from Hugh G. Evelyn-White, *Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns, and Homerica,* Loeb Classical Library; for fuller references see the places where each passage is quoted in pp. 71-80.

∔ For ἀμύμων and ἀμώμητος in the recent papyrus fragments of Hesiod see Chap. IV, p. 75 n. 1.

	ἀμύμων	ἄμωμος	ἀμώμητος
B. To Apollo	III.100 Apollo	—	—
C. To the Dioskouroi	—	—	XXXIII.3 Polydeukes

IV. The Battle of the Frogs and Mice (Batrachomyomachia)

	1) 144 λόγος	—	—
	2) 266 Embasichutros, a mouse		
	3) 230 Borborokoites, a frog		
	4) 255 τρυφάλειαν,		
	5) 261 Artepiboulos, a mouse		
I. Hesiod	10	1	3
II. Cycle	1	0	0
III. Hymns	2	0	1
IV. Battle	5	0	0
Totals	18	1	4

Total instances of all three words: 23

List 4, pp. 81-84

Use of ἀμύμων, ἄμωμος, ἀμώμητος *in late epic*

I. Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautica, III.190: ἀμύμονα Φρίξον
II. Quintus Smyrnaeus, The Fall of Troy

A. Use of ἀμύμων *in Quintus*

1. II.228-229: ἔνθ' ἕλε Πηλείδης Θάλιον καὶ ἀμύμονα Μέντην — of
* Mentes, a Trojan slain by Achilleus

a 2. III.178-179: . . . καὶ ἄσπετον ἔβραχε τεύχη / Πηλείδαο πεσόντος ἀμύμονος . . . — of Achilleus; cf. of Patroklos in Iliad XVII.10, Chap. II, p. 40

a 3. III.264-265: μυίῃς οὐτιδανῇσιν ἐοικότες ἀΐσσουσιν / ἀμφὶ νέκυν 'Αχιλῆος ἀμύμονος; . . . — of Achilleus

a 4. III.296c: ἄγχι δὲ Λαέρταο δαΐφρονος υἱὸς ἀμύμων — of Odysseus

a ✢ 5. III, 423-426 εἱλόμενοι περὶ νεκρὸν ἀμύμονος οἷο ἄνακτος· —

✢ Denotes passages in which ἀμύμων has moral meaning, see Chap. IV, p. 83, n. 1.

* Denotes passages in which ἀμύμων is in an unconventional position; see Chap. V, p. 102, n. 2.

ἠπίου, ὃς πάντεσσιν ἴσος πάρος ἦεν ἑταῖρος· / οὐ γὰρ ὑπερφίαλος πέλεν ἀνδράσιν οὐδ' ὀλοόφρων, / ἀλλὰ σαοφροσύνῃ καὶ κάρτεϊ πάντ' ἐκέκαστο — of Achilleus

6. IV.99c: καὶ σέθεν ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἀμύμονος Ἀτρείδαο — of Agamemnon
7. IV.146-147: . . . ὃς δ' Ἀχιλῆος ἀμύμονος ἄφθιτα ἔργα / μέλπε μέσωι ἐν ἀγῶνι· . . . — of Achilleus
   cf. IV.163-168:

   μέλπε, καὶ ὡς ἐτέτυκτο πελώριος, ὥς τέ οἱ οὔτις
   ἔσθενε δηριάασθαι ἐναντίον, οὔτ' ἐν ἀέθλοις
   αἰζηῶν, ὅτε ποσσὶ νέοι περιδηριόωνται,
   οὐδὲ μὲν ἱππασίῃ, οὐδὲ σταδίῃ ἐνὶ χάρμῃ,
   κάλλεΐ θ' ὡς Δαναοὺς μέγ' ὑπείρεχεν, ὥς τέ οἱ ἀλκὴ
   ἔπλετ' ἀπειρεσίη, ὁπότ' Ἄρεος ἔσσυτο δῆρις

8. IV.154-155c: υἷα Ποσειδάωνος ἰδ' ἀντίθεον Πολύδωρον / καὶ Τρώιλον θηητὸν ἀμύμονά τ' Ἀστεροπαῖον, — of Asteropaios
\+ 9. V.138: οἱ γὰρ ἔσαν πινυτοὶ καὶ ἀμύμονες ἐν Δαναοῖσι — of Idomeneus, Nestor, and Agamemnon
10. V.521-522: . . . ἐπὶ δ' ἔστενε δῖα Τέκμησσα — of Aias Αἴαντος παράκοιτις ἀμύμονος, . . .
   cf. V.562-565:

   ἀλλά σε τίσομεν αἰὲν ἀπειρεσίοις γεράεσσι,
   τίσομεν ὥστε θεήν, καὶ σὸν τέκος, ὡς ἔτ' ἐόντος
   ἀντιθέου Αἴαντος, ὃς ἔπλετο κάρτος Ἀχαιῶν.
   αἴθ' ὄφελον μηδ' ἄλγος Ἀχαιδὶ θήκατο πάσῃ

   and V.594-595: κεῖνος δ' ἐσθλὸς ἐὼν στυγερῆι ὑπὸ δαίμονος Αἴσῃι / ἤλιτεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔοικε μέγ' ἀσχαλάαν ἐνὶ θυμῶι·
a 11. V.561: Τεύκρου ἔτι ζώοντος ἀμύμονος ἠδ' ἐμεῦ αὐτοῦ· — of Teukros
12. VI.615c: Εὐρύπυλος μὲν ἔπεφνεν ἀμύμονα Βουκολίωνα — of Boukolion, a Greek; cf. Chap. IV, p. 82, n. 3
13. VI.624c: αὐτὰρ Ἀγήνωρ δῖος ἀμύμονα Μῶλον ἔπεφνεν, — of Molos, a Greek from Argos
a 14. VII.355: εἰσορόων Ἀχιλῆος ἀμύμονος ὄβριμον υἷα, — of Achilleus
15. IX.535: τοῖσιν δὴ Ποίαντος ἀμύμονος ὄβριμος υἱὸς — of Poias, father of Philoktetes
16. X.224: δὴ τότε που Ποίαντος ἀμύμονος ὄβριμος υἱὸς — cf. XI.474: καὶ τότε δὴ Ποίαντος ἐῢς πάϊς ἀντιθέοιο, — of Poias

17. XI.50: καὶ τοὺς μὲν θεράποντες ἀμύμονος Αἰνείαο — of Aineias
18. XI.99[c]: Τεῦκρος δ' Ἱππομέδοντος ἀμύμονος υἷα Μενοίτην — of Hippomedon, a Trojan, father of Teukros' victim Menoites
+19. XII.75: ταῦτα μέν, ὡς ἐπέοικεν ἀμύμονι φωτὶ καὶ ἐσθλῶι, — of Neoptolemos
a 20. XIII.300: καὶ τότε δὴ πάϊς ἐσθλὸς ἀμύμονος Ἀγχίσαο — of Anchises
21. XIII.513: εἰ ἐτεὸν Θησῆος ἀμύμονος ἐνθάδ' ἵκοντο — of Theseus
22. XIII.528: αὐτίκ', ἐπεί ῥα δέδορκας ἀμύμονος υἱέος υἷας — cf. XIII.497: Θησῆος μεγάλοιο δι' ἄστεος ἄντετο μήτηρ — and XIII.511: . . . ἐκ δ' ἄρ' ἐμεῖο κλυτὸς πάϊς ἔπλετο Θησεύς — all three of Theseus
*+23. XIV.192: τῖε δ' ἀμύμονας ἄνδρας, ὅσοις νόος ἔμπεδός ἐστιν· — indefinite

B. Use of ἀμώμητος *in Quintus*

1. I.50-51: . . . μετὰ δέ σφισι πάσῃς / ἐκπρέπει ἀγλαὸν εἶδος ἀμωμήτοις περ ἐούσῃς·— of Penthesilea, the Amazon queen
2. I.673-674: . . . ἐπεὶ μέγεθός τε καὶ εἶδος / ἔπλετ' ἀμώμητός τε καὶ ἀθανάτῃσιν ὁμοίῃ — of Penthesilea
   For other descriptions of Penthesilea's beauty, cf.: I.19, 36-53, 56-57, 61, 190, 622-623, 660-662.
3. XIV.57-59: . . . ἀμφὶ δὲ λαοὶ / θάμβεον ἀθρήσαντες ἀμωμήτοιο γυναικὸς / ἀγλαΐην καὶ κάλλος ἐπήρατον . . . — of Helen
   For a comparison of Helen to Aphrodite, cf.: XIV.47-55.

C. Other passages of interest

1. V.129: υἱὸς Λαέρταο καὶ ἀντιθέου Τελαμῶνος
2. V.158: ἀντιθέωι τ' Αἴαντι φιλοπτολέμωι τ' Ὀδυσῆι,
3. X.162: πὰρ τέμενος καὶ σῆμα κραταιοῦ Βελλεροφόντου,

c III Orphica: Argonautica, 197: ἄμωμον δέμας (of Phlias), p. 84. See Eugene Abel, *Orphica*, Leipzig, 1885, p. 10.

		ἀμύμων	ἄμωμος	ἀμώμητος
I.	Apollonius	1	0	0
II.	Quintus	23	0	3
III.	Orphica	0	1	0
	Totals:	24	1	3

Total instances of all three words: 28

List 5, pp. 84-89

+* *Use of* ἀμύμων, ἄμωμος, *and* ἀμώμητος *in other Greek poetry*

∓ ἀμύμων	ἄμωμος	ἀμώμητος
	Semonides, pred. with οὔτις	Archilochos, ἔντος,
	Anacreon, ἄνθος	
Pindar *O.* 10(11).27, Kteatos	—	Pindar, P. II.74, καρπόν (Rhadamanthys)
		Bacchylides, Epin. V.147, Klymenes (in δέμας)
	Aeschylus, Persians 185, dream women (in μεγέθει, κάλλει)	
Hermippus, Chian wine		
Anaxandrides, tuna-fish.		
Moschus, II.93 Europa	Theocritus, XVIII.25, pred. with τις	—
Megara. 9, Herakles (ἄνδρος)		
Dionysius Periegetes 559: Aithiopians, 1022: Medea	Palatine Anthology XII, 96.3, pred. with εἶδος	

a = characters called ἀμύμων in Homer
c = catalogue passages
\+ Cf. on the Danaid Amymone, pp. 88-89.
* Full references for the fragments will be found where they are quoted on pp. 84-89.
∓ [αμυμ] occurs once in a fragment of anonymous lyric (which Snell assigns to Bacchylides); see Page, *Poetae Melici Graecae*, Adespota 6, 924.17, p. 490.

	ἀμύμων	ἄμωμος	ἀμώμητος
I. Lyric, iambic	1	2	3
II. Drama	2	1	0
III. Hellenistic and later	4	2	0
Totals:	7	5	3
Total instances of all three words: 15			

List 6, Chap. IV, p. 74, n. 1

Use of ἀμύμων, ἄμωμος, *and* ἀμώμητος *in inscriptions*

Since a complete *Index verborum* is often lacking from epigraphical publications, it is impossible to make anything like a thorough survey of the use of ἀμύμων, ἄμωμος, and ἀμώμητος in Greek inscriptions. There is nothing, however, in the instances which I have found which contradicts my hypotheses about the meaning and usage of these three words.

Many of the instances are late, often Christian, and the majority of these are not from Greece itself; one is from Thessalonica and the rest from Italy and the east (group A). Nevertheless, the use of all three of these words is traditional in that each is clearly a laudatory adjective (though none of this group sheds any light on the exact connotation of any of the three epithets), used either directly with a proper name or with a word denoting a person in a relationship. Thus we find: ἄμωμος Lais, daughter of Zosime (Thessalonica); Paulina, the ἀμώμητος wife (σύνευνον) of Andonikos (Ravenna); ἀμύμων Rufinus, who is also reverent (θεοσεβής), wise and law-abiding (Lorium); Severa, the ἀμύμων daughter (κούρη) of the family of Strymon (Rome); Amelis, the ἀμύμων child (τέκνον) of Amelis and Maria, who is also called sweetest (γλυκυτάτωι) and holy (ὁσείωι), but since he died when little more than two years old, we cannot put too much weight on the last adjective (Rome); Kurilla is ἀμύμων to the children who put up a monument because of her σωφροσύνη (Asia); the unmarried Samseos is the good (ἐσθλός) and ἀμώμητος son of Soedos (Syria); Marciana has ἀμύμονες grandchildren (Arabia?); a bride in a Byzantine inscription is ἄμωμος (Panormus).

Only a few of these kinds of inscriptions are anomalous (group B). In the long poem set up by Herodes Atticus of Marathon for his wife Regilla (ca. 161 A.D.), it is said that the Harpies snatched

away some of their children from the ἀμύμων house (μεγάροιο) v. 13ff. Either this is an adaptation of the Homeric passage in which Odysseus' household (οἶκος) is called ἀμύμων [1.232] (see p. 104); or the inscriber made a mistake, writing ἀμύμονος instead of ἀμύμονας, which would describe the children (παῖδας) in a traditional phrase. On the whole the last seems more likely to me, since ἀμύμονος has its traditional position in the hexameter; the adaptations required to derive the phrase ἀμύμονος ἐκ μεγάροιο from the Odyssean οἶκος . . . ἀμύμων are considerable, both in meaning and meter.

In one of a series of inscriptions from Lindus, in Rhodes (third century A.D.), a priest of Athena, Aglochartos, addresses her as the ἀμωμητή daughter of Zeus. In the literary evidence, ἀμώμητος is not used of a god or goddess (but cf. the use of ἀμύμων of Apollo in a Homeric hymn, pp. 78-79); the feminine ending -η is also unusual.

In an inscription from Laconia (fourth century A.D.), Epandrida prays to Herakles to send her and her children ἄμωμος health (ὑγίεια) in return for gifts. This is a unique combination of noun and epithet in the surviving evidence, but the meaning of ἄμωμος is obvious, and consonant with the meanings which we have seen for it in the late literary evidence: "flawless" or even just "good" health will do.

In an undated inscription from Rhodes, an old restoration which made one Titus Aurelius Nikostratos an ἀμώμητος sophist has been convincingly changed to add another name, "Amios the sophist"; so we need not linger over this erstwhile oddity.

The final case of this kind, however, deserves a little comment. In an inscription found at Rome, perhaps of the fourth century A.D., which Kaibel calls *epigramma pessimum*, there is a serious problem involving (perhaps) ἀμύμων. A physician, Asklepiades, is said to have demonstrated that the soul was immortal and ageless, "writing Phoibos as a witness on ἀμύμονες tablets (or pages)" v. 6. The stone plainly reads AMYMNICIN, it is agreed, and if we follow the epigraphers in changing this to some form of ἀμύμων (see critical note), "Ces mots sont bien obscurs," as Pierre Boyance says (*Le Culte des Muses*, Paris, 1937, p. 286). Actually, Boyance is more troubled by the reference to Phoebus as a witness than by the peculiar phrase ἀμύμοσιν σελιδέσσι which he translates "sur des tablettes irreprochables" without any signs of discomfort. Nor do

any of the epigraphical editors find the adjective noteworthy in meaning; they play about quite happily with the unusual forms ἀμύμοσι, ἀμυμόνησι, ἀμύμωσιν without troubling themselves about the meaning. Apparently years of translating ἀμύμων by blameless, *irreprochable*, *untadelig*, etc. in all the Homeric passages where such a rendition has no real meaning has accustomed everybody to accepting ἀμύμων without question, no matter how odd the usage. The passage here cannot be explained as the careless use of a formula, Homeric or otherwise, since there is nothing else like it in Greek, as we have seen. But if we demand some meaning from the epithet here, "beautiful" does not really fit any better than "blameless." F. Cumont's suggestion (*Recherches sur le Symbolism Funèbre des Romains*, Paris, 1942, p. 277ff.) of ἅμ' ὕμν(ο)ισιν <ἐν> surely has some merit. Not only does it make better sense, but it is better epigraphically, since ὕμνισιν is presumably how ὕμνοισιν was pronounced by the time the inscription was cut.

A line cited by Kaibel from Pittaces is hard to discuss in detail in the absense of any further context or of any information about the date and place of the inscription. But the usage of ἀμώμητος in it is perfectly traditional in that it is applied to body (σῶμα) and clearly means (physically) flawless, just as it does in Greek poetry.

Of Greek inscriptions before the Christian era which use any of our words, I have found only three, all using ἀμώμητος (group C). In the first, Friedländer restores a -ν, takes the resulting ἀμώμητον with "the goal of death," and interprets the phrase to mean that the subject's death is "the consummation of a blameless life." His restoration and interpretation are obviously based on the usual translation of ἀμώμητος (and ἀμύμων), not on the actual usage of the word. The evidence that we have examined suggests that the normal meaning of ἀμώμητος at the beginning of the fifth century, the date which Friedländer accepts for the inscription, was "handsome, beautiful." If we restore -ς, ἀμώμητος then refers to the subject of the epigram and performs a common function of making the idea of death more poignant; cf. Friedländer, 81, in which καλός is thus used.

In a grave epigram from Eretria, dated to the fourth century B.C., we find the phrase μάντις ἀμώμητος, obviously modelled on the Homeric μάντις ἀμύμων (see pp. 94-95 and 117), although the phrase is actually quite unhomeric in both meter and usage. It

shows, however, that the confusion between ἀμύμων and ἀμώμητος, which eventually led to the ancient etymology of ἀμύμων from μῶμος, began quite early. By the fourth century, ἀμύμων was obsolescent, while ἄμωμος and ἀμώμητος were being used more frequently (see the relative numbers of instances in Appendix IV, Lists 3 and 5). Since in Homer and Hesiod, ἀμύμων and ἀμώμητος overlap in one sphere of connotation, that of beauty, it was natural to think that they were altogether synonymous. In fact, the development of ἀμύμων from "handsome, strong" into the meaning "competent, expert" as in μάντις ἀμύμων is not paralleled by the development of ἀμώμητος from the original meaning "flawless (in body)" to "perfect" in other respects. Instead, as we have seen, ἀμώμητος comes to mean "free from μῶμος" in the various senses μῶμος has, but in these developed meanings of "faultless" or "irreproachable," ἀμώμητος is not synonymous with the developed meanings of ἀμύμων.

But in a second century (B.C.) inscription from Acarnania we find ἀμώμητος used quite properly in one of its developed senses, because the composer of the epigram was not misled by any imperfectly understood Homeric parallel. In it, the dead man, who is said to have been liked by everyone, but who apparently met his death by some treachery, is called "a standard for ἀμώμητος temperance (σωφροσύνη). If a person is temperate, there is not much opportunity for μῶμος to attack him, so his temperance can rightly be called "irreprochable."

Group A: Late inscriptions from Thessalonica, Italy and the East

1. CIG 1974 (II, 56);

Thessalonicae

Ζωσίμη [Λ]αΐδι ἀμώμωι, τῆι ἰδίαι
θυγατρί, ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτῆς, μνείας χάριν

2. IG XIV 1937; Kaibel 596; CIG 6735 (III 1019)

Ravennae

Christian, second or third century
Θ(εοῖς) κ(αταχθονίοις)
τὴν σεμνῶς ζήσασαν ἀμώμητόν τε σύνευνον
Παυλεῖναν φθιμένην ἐννεακαίδεκ' ἐτῶν
'Ανδρόνικος ἰητρὸς ἀνὴρ μνημή[ι]α τίνων

τήνδε πανυστατ[ί]ην [στήσα]το μαρτυ[ρίην].

3. CIG 9852 (IV, 571)

Lorii (Etruria)

Christian

ἐνθάδε ἐν εἰρήνηι κεῖτε 'Ρουφεῖνος ἀ μ ύ μ ω ν,
θεοσεβὴς ἁγίων τε νόμων σοφίης τε συνίστωρ
ἐτῶν κα', ἡμ(ερων) η', ὡρ[ῶ]ν ι'

4. IG XIV 2001; Kaibel 567; CIG 6288 (III, 929)

Romae

ἀθάνατ[ος] μερόπων οὐδεὶς ἔφυ· τοῦδε Σεβήρα,
Θησεύς, Αἰακίδαι μάρτυρές εἰσι λόγου.
αὐχῶ σώφρονα τύμβος ἐμαῖς λαγόνεσσι Σεβήραν,
κούρην Στρυμονίου παιδὸς ἀ μ ύ μ ο ν' ἔχων,
οἵην οὐκ ἤνεικε πολὺς βίος, οὐδέ τις οὔ[τ]ω
ἔσχε τάφος χρηστὴν ἄλλος ὑφ' ἠελίωι.

5. CIG 6337 (III, 947); IG rejects as Jewish

Romae

'Αμελίωι τέκνωι γλυκυτάτωι, ὃς ἔζησεν ἔτη β',
μῆνας β̄', ἡμέρας ε̄', 'Αμέλις ἄρχω[ν] κέ
Μαρία γονεῖς τέκνωι ἀ μ ώ μ ωι ὁσείωι ἐποίησαν

6. Kaibel 378; CIG add 3846 z[59]

Aezanis (Asia)

Κυρίλλῃι τόδ[ε] π[αῖ]δες [ἀ μ ύ μ ο]ν ι σ[ῆ]μα τε[κού]σηι
τεῦξαν ἀπο[ι]χομένηι σωφροσύνης ἕνεκεν

7. CIG 4642 (III, 269)

in the citadel of the city Salchad (Syria)

ἔνθα κῖται Σάμσεος ἐσθλός, ἀνυμέναιος,
ἀ μ ώ μ η τ ο [ς] γόνος Σοέδου.

8. Kaibel 451

Busr-el-Hariri Trachonitidis (Arabia)

[Αὐτ]ῆι καὶ τεκέε(σ)σι . . . . .
. . . . . . δίματο Μαρκιανή
υἱῶν παίδεσ(σ)ιν ἀ μ ύ μ ω σίν τε θυγατέρων
αὐτῆς κυδαλίμων ἔξοχ' ἐν ἡμερίοις·
τῶν τινα μὴ δέξαιτο νέον παιδ', ἀλλὰ γέροντα
πλήσαντα λιπαρῶς κύκλον ἐτῶν ἑκατόν.

Kaibel comments on v. 3: voluit poeta tale quid οἱῶν τε παίδεσσιν ἀμύμοσιν ἠδὲ θυγατρῶν

9. CIG 9535 (IV, 518); IG rejects as Byzantine

Panormi

καὶ χοῦν μὲν αὐτῆς ἐνθάδε κρύπτει τάφος,
τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν φέρουσιν ἀγγέλων χέρες
νύμφην ἄ μ ω μ ο ν, ἁγίαν τῶι δεσπότηι
τῶι νυμφαγαγῶι καὶ καθαρῶι νυμφίωι. lines 13-16

Group B: Anomalous inscriptions

1. IG XIV 1389; Kaibel 1046; CIG 6280

Romae

second century A.D.
Herodes Atticus for his wife Annia Regilla; poet Marcellus

δεῦρ' ἴτε, Θυβριάδες, νηὸν ποτὶ τόνδε, γυναῖκες,
'Ρηγίλλης ἕδος ἀμφὶ θυοσκόα ἱρὰ φέρουσαι.
ἡ δὲ πολυκτεάνων μὲν ἔην ἐξ Αἰνεαδάων,
'Αγχίσεω κλυτὸν αἷμα καὶ 'Ιδαίης 'Αφροδίτης
γήματο δ' ἐς Μαραθῶνα· Θεαὶ δέ μιν οὐρανιῶνα[ι
τίουσιν Ληώ τε νεὴ Λήω τε παλαιή,
τῇσί περ ἱερὸν εἶδος ἐΰζώνοιο γυναικός
ἀγκεῖται· αὐτὴ δὲ μεθ' ἡρώινῃσι νένασται
ἐν μακάρων νήσοισιν, ἵνα Κρόνος ἐνβασιλεύει·
τοῦτο γὰρ ἀντ' ἀγαθοῖο νόου εἴληχεν ἄποινον,
ὡς οἱ Ζεὺς ᾤκτειρεν ὀδυρόμενον παρακοίτιν
γήραι ἐν ἀζαλέωι χήρηι περικείμενον εὐνῆι,
οὕνεκά οἱ παῖδας μὲν ἀ μ ύ μ ο ν ο ς ἐκ μεγάροιο
῞Αρπυιαι κλωθῶες ἀνηρείψαντο μέλαιναι
ἡμισέας πλεύνων· δοιὼ δ' ἔτι παῖδε λιπέσθην
νηπιάχω, ἀγνῶ τε κακῶν ἔτι πάμπαν ἀπύστω,
οἵην σφι νηλὴς κατὰ μητέρα πότμος ἔμαρψε
πρίν περ γηραιῇσι μιγήμεναι ἠλακάτῃσι.

2. IG XII i 779

Lindi (Rhodes)

third century A.D.
κού[ρῃ] ἀ μ ω μ [ή] τῃ μεγάλου Δίος 'Ατρυτώνῃ,
γιο[πόν]ος τεός εἰμι, καὶ ἐργοπό[νος τ]εός εἰμι,

υἱὸ[ς κυ]άλιμο[ς] Μοιώνιδος [᾿Αγλ]ώχαρτος

3. IG V i 1119

Laconia

fourth century A.D.

αἰέναος πηγὴ [π]αρ᾿ ᾿Επανδρίδα ἤδ᾿ ἀνάκειται
  ῾Ηρακλεῖ ἰάτρων ἀντὶ χαριζομένωι.
ὦ χαῖρε ῾Ηράκλεις μεγαλόσθενες· ἀντὶ δὲ δώρων
  πέντε ὑγίειαν ἄμωμον ᾿Επανδρίδαι ἠδὲ τέκνοισιν.

4. IG XII ii 83; CIG 2529 (II, 393-394)

Rhodi

CIG: ὁ δᾶμος ὁ ῾Ροδίων καὶ ἁ βουλὰ Τίτον
Αὐρηλιανὸν [Ν]ικόστρατον Νικοστράτου
ἀμ[ώμη]τον σοφιστάν

but with comment: "ne ἀμ[ώμη]τον quidem mihi satisfacit. possis et ἀμ[εμπ]τον."

IG: reads in third line: Ἄμ[ιο]ν τὸν σοφιστάν surely rightly

5. IG XIV 1424; Kaibel 594; CIG 6208; Peek 1283

Romae

fourth century A.D.

ἀνέρες, οἵπ<ε>ρ <ἐ>ς Αὐσονίων πέδον εἴκετε, ξεῖνοι,
βαιὸν ἐπὶ τραφερῆι χθονὶ δερκόμενοι τόδε δῶμα
ἀνδρὸς ὀπιζομένου Ζηνὸς νόον αἰγιόχοιο,
ὅς ποτ᾿ ἔδειξε βροτῶν πολυπλάγκτοισιν πραπίδεσσι
ψυχὴν ἀθανάτην κἀγήραου ἐκ Διὸς αἴσης.
μάρτυρα Φοῖβον ἀμύμ<ο>σιν ἐν σελίδεσσι χαράξας
οὐδ᾿ ἄρα θνητὸς ἔην, ὑπ᾿ ἀνάγκης δ᾿ ὑψιμέδοντος
τύμβωι εἰναλέωι πεπεδημένος ἤνυσεν οἶμον·
ἐκ ῥεθέων δ᾿ ἅμα στείχων σέμνον ἔβη Διὸς οἶκον,
Λητείδηι καὶ Μούσαις βωμὸν ὑπ᾿ ἠέρι τεύξας·
εἰητὴρ δ᾿ ἅμ᾿ ᾿Ασκληπιάδης μακάρων τρίβον ἤιει,
χρημοσύνην δ᾿ ἔλιπεν πολυκήριον ἐν νεκύεσσιν.

The text above is Peek's throughout

v 6: stone: AMYMNICIN Jacobs: ἀμυμ[ό]ν[ε]σιν Kaibel: ἀμύμ[ω]σιν [εν] with comment: AMYMNICIN aperta lapidis lectio; describens vero notavi litteras NI ex ω posse corruptas esse. Itaque ἀμύμωσιν solœcam formam quam Iacobsii ἀμυμόνεσιν reponere malui. CIG: ἀμύμ[ο]σιν εἰ IG: ἀμυμ[ω]σιν <εν> (= Kaibel)

Group C: Greek inscriptions, pre-Christian

1. Friedländer, 78 (p. 83)
Marble stele with relief of a bearded man feeding his dog
Apollonia on the Black Sea
Beginning of the fifth century B.C.

[ἐνθάδ' 'Α]νάξανδρο[ς ἀ]νὴ[ρ δ] οκιμώτατος ἀστῶν
κε[ῖτ]αι ἀμώμητο[ν τ]έρμα λα[χ]ὼν θανάτου.

"*Adn. cr.* . . . ἀμώμητον would be more appropriate for a man killed in action. ἀμωμήτως would not agree with the stone. ἀμώμητος would be awkward but not impossible."

(Comment): "The vigorous couplet is full of the tone of the old elegy: . . . ἀμώμητον Archilochus 6.2" (p. 83)

"The epigram portrays the worthy citizen as having reached in death the consummation of a blameless life. The informal attitude of the relief and the dignified characterization of the epigram are complementary to each other." (pp. 83-84)

(Translation): "Here Anaxander, most respected of our townsmen, lies, having won the blameless goal of death."

Against Friedlander's interpretation:
None of the parallels he cites for the idea of reaching the goal of death has any adjective with θάνατος.

Cf. 81, Athens, Base of a stele, place and date unknown, IG I² 982

παι[δὸ]ς [ἀπ]οφθιμένοιο Κ[λεοί]του τοῦ Μενεσαίχμου
μνῆμ' ἐσορῶν οἴκτιρ', ὡς καλὸς ὢν ἔθανε

"As you behold the tomb of . . ., perished child of Menesaechmus, mourn how fair he was, yet died."

"*Adn. cr.* v.2 ὅς is possible, but the beauty would be lost."

(Comment): "here the ritual lament receives a particular justification: look at the beauty of the young man; yet he had to die." (p. 86)

2. IG XII ix 291; Peek 494
Eretria
fourth century B.C.

μάντιν ἀμώμητον Δελφὸν γένος ἐνθάδε Λεῦκον.
υἱὸν Σωσιμένεος, γαῖα χυτὴ κατέχει.

3. IG2 IX, part I, fascicle ii 314
Thyrreum (Acarnania)
second century B.C.
καὶ λόγον αὐξήσαντα καὶ ἐν λιγυαχέσι Μούσαις
κεκριμένον κρύπτει Σώπολιν ἅδε κόνις
Θυρρείου ναετῆρα, μεγαυχήτοιο Λέοντος
κοῦρον, ἀμωμήτου σωφροσύνης κανόνα·
ὃν πᾶς μὲν φιλέεσκεν, ὑπερφιάλων δὲ πρὸς ἐχθρῶν
[ὤ]λετο φοινίξας ἀπροτίοπτον Ἄρη·
[ἀ]λλ' εἰ καὶ νέος ἦλθεν ὑπὸ ζόφον, οὐ μὲν ἀσαμῶς
[τὰν] ἀρετὰν λείπει ζῶσαν ὑπ' ἀελίωι.

APPENDIX V

List 1: *Variae lectiones* for passages in Homer in which OCT prints a form of ἀμύμων

List 2: Passages in Homer in which some mss. give a form of ἀμύμων where OCT adopts a different reading

List 1 Chap. I, p. 11, n. 1

Variae lectiones for passages in Homer in which OCT prints a form of ἀμύμων

A. In the Iliad

1. I.423; see p. 13

   μετὰ μέμνονας *et* δαίμονας ἄλλους

   The latter phrase appears in I.222, but is superfluous here in view of I.424. 'Αμύμων is satisfactory if one does not interpret it as "blameless."

2. V.247; see p. 17

   μὲν ἀμύμονος *vulg.*: μεγαλήτορος *a g i k o A ss. al.*

   The same phrase, with μεγαλήτορος for μὲν ἀμύμονος occurs at V.468. See also XX.206-209, where an adapted version of V.247, with μεγαλήτορος, appears as 209. There μεγαλήτορος is suitable because the whole of Aineias' parentage is meant to be contrasted with Achilleus, where μὲν ἀμύμονος . . . δ' has already appeared. Aineias then replies to Achilleus' taunt of cowardice by saying "you are the son of handsome Peleus, but I am the son of brave Anchises." But in our passage, μὲν ἀμύμονος is satisfactory.

3. IX.128; see pp. 84-86

   ἀμύμονα *b o A B C* M^4 *T* U^1 U^2 V^9 V^{12} V^{15} V^{16} V^{19}: ἀμύμονας *cet.*: *de lectione Ar. discrepant fontes nostri*

   cf. IX.270 and XIX.245, where the mss. are also divided between ἀμύμονα and ἀμύμονας; see B. 6 below.

   Either is possible, though as the scholiast remarks, ἔργα is a little bare without an epithet. In XXIII.263, where a similar phrase occurs of one woman (see p. 96), ἀμύμονα could

modify either γυναῖκα or ἔργα, but the word order is easier with ἔργα.

4. X.323; see p. 62

f m r A

No reason for the difference from II.770 is apparent, unless Aristarchus thought that "blameless" was appropriate in the first passage, but not in X. But if ἀμύμων is taken as "handsome," no change is necessary, and it is more usual in Homer to repeat such lines with the same epithet.

5. XI.692; see p. 11

ἀμύμονες *e f h i m al.*

Either is possible (see 8 below), but the vulgate is preferable, since υἱέες is modified by an epithet far less often than proper names.

6. XIV.469; see p. 48

ἀμύμονα Πουλυδάμαντα *Zen.*

The vulgate is preferable because in Homer γεγωνέω regularly has the dative, never the accusative.

7. XVII.186; see p. 64

ὄφρ' ἂν ἐγὼ δύω κατὰ τεύχεα Πηλείωνος *Et. Gud. 154.I.*

There is no reason to abandon the vulgate.

8. XX.231; see p. 18

ἀμύμονος *b d h i p*

Either is possible; see 5 above. -ος would place the attributive adjective rather far from its noun, Τρωός, at the begining of the line, but that might be due to the desire to keep ἀμύμονος in its normal position. On the other hand, παῖδες ἀμύμονες recurs, without recorded variants, in X.170 and XIV.115 (see p. 11); cf. B. 2 below, so on the whole the vulgate is preferable.

B. In the Odyssey

1. 3.111; see p. 125

ἀταρβής *k* M^3 *Pal.* R^{11}

The phrase φίλος υἱός, ἅμα κρατερὸς καὶ ἀταρβής occurs

elsewhere only in XIII.299, modifying Phobos, the son of Ares as he accompanies Ares into war. Obviously this latter passage represents an adjustment of the usual combination of κρατερός and ἀμύμων (see p. 22) for a special effect, and is inappropriate for Antilochos, for whom the regular phrase (in the nominative instead of the usual accusative) should be kept.

2. 8.419; see p. 118

   ἀμύμονες *L*[8] *P*[5] *ss.*

See 8.118 where the same phrase, with -ος, occurs with no recorded variants. But either is possible, since the sons of Alkinoos are called ἀμύμων individually, and παῖδες ἀμύμονες occurs thrice in the Iliad (see A. 8 above).

3. 9.414; see p. 103

   ἀμείνων *a d l* (ἀμείμων *Br*), *cf. Z 350 al.*

'Αμείνων is not suitable here, since there is no other μῆτις for comparison, nor is it in X.19 (see pp. 99-100), where no variant is recorded.

4. 11.236; see pp. 122-124

   ἀτασθάλου *quidam ant.*

'Ατασθάλου is more suitable than "blameless" for Salmoneus, who presumed to be equal to Zeus and was destroyed by a thunderbolt, but Homer says nothing of his wickedness, and if ἀμύμων means "handsome," no change is necessary.

5. 24.194; see p. 138

   ἐχέφρονι *gj* 𝔓[28] *C Mon. Eust., cf. 198*

There is nothing wrong with the vulgate reading of ἀμύμονι in 194 and ἐχέφρονι in 198, but the reverse is certainly possible; cf. List 2, B. 3 below.

6. 24.278; see pp. 102-103

   ἀμύμονα *e j C*: ἀμύμονας *cet.*

Either is possible; see A. 3 above.

List 2, Chap. I, p. 11, n. 1

Passages in Homer in which some mss. give a form of ἀμύμων *where OCT adopts a different reading*

A. In the Iliad

1. X.306: οἵ κεν ἄριστοι ἔωσι θοῇς ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν
αὐτοὺς οἳ φορέουσιν ἀμύμονα Πηλείωνα *Zen*: καλοὺς κ.τ.λ. *Aristoph.*

See List 1, A. 4 above. Both are possible, but the change from the vulgate is unnecessary.

B. In the Odyssey

1. 8.566: ἡμῖν, οὕνεκα πομποὶ ἀπήμονές εἰμεν ἁπάντων
ἀμύμονες *d P*[1]

Possible, as an extension of VI.171 (see p. 99), but unnecessary.

2. 12.167: νῆσον Σειρήνοιϊν· ἔπειγε γὰρ οὖρος ἀπήμων.
ἀμύμων *c*

There is no parallel, but a "fair" breeze is a comprehensible extension of the usage of ἀμύμων as we have seen it.

3. 24.198; see p. 138-139
ἀμύμονι *d j s Mon.*, cf. 194
Possible; see List 1, B, 5 above.

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